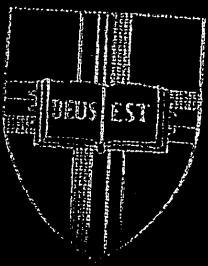
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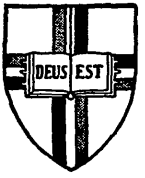

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THE CHRISTENDOM SERIES

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PREFACE

THE historical period covered in this book (1770–1892) witnessed a remarkable growth and development of Catholic life in England. In 1780 the total Catholic population of England and Wales was sixty thousand. In Manning's time it was just short of two million. To-day, according to figures included in the 1941 issue of the *Catholic Directory,* the Catholic population of these countries is almost two and one-half million.

Present-day Catholics in England, as their fathers and forefathers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are fighting with all their strength for the survival of Christian traditions in Europe. In so far as any part of their existing system or their way of life may be incompatible with God's will, they are praying that their failings and errors may be put right, just as ardently as they are praying that the military and naval triumph of a pagan creed may be averted. Wiseman, Newman, W. G. Ward and Manning long ago recognized the imperative need of a religious revival. To-day there are many signs that the war has already aroused a profound awakening of the Christian tradition which had been stifled and dormant for years past.

The present volume is devoted exclusively to the heroic age of the Catholic Revival in England as it proceeded from, was carried on by, and affected members of the Catholic Church. The attempt has been made to present the Revival in a Catholic setting, to see it, so to speak, from the inside, rather than to chronicle the effect of the Revival upon the English attitude toward the Church.

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Professor Herbert C. F. Bell for his constant encouragement and helpful advice, and to Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman for several valuable suggestions. For any errors or misstatements, however, he alone is responsible.

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CHAPTER I

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

As EARLY as 1770, General "Johnny" Burgoyne proposed a motion in the House of Commons to enable Catholics to enlist in His Majesty's forces. This suggestion, as novel as it was prudent, was intended to strengthen the Army at a time when military service was unpopular and the need for soldiers urgent. In that same eventful year George III's troublesome American colonies not only denounced the Townshend Acts but provoked British troops to actual bloodshed —the so-called "Boston Massacre." On the continent, sullen French peasants grumbled as taxes went higher, and Louis XV, unmindful of their wretched plight, irresolutely challenged boredom with a pretty-faced mistress.

Ignoring these revolutionary storm signals, a corrupt and complacent Parliament did nothing. But when Burgoyne surrendered with six thousand men at Saratoga (1777) and war with France threatened, the Government woke up. Sir John Dalrymple was ordered to investigate the possibility of Catholic recruitment.

When Dalrymple began his novel investigation, Catholics in England were a small and obscure minor-

ity. The Catholic religion had survived the Elizabethan persecution; but the Church, as an organized institution, was gone. The hierarchy, in fact, ceased to function in 1585. The rule of the archpriests, without an episcopal character, lasted from 1598 until 1621. Two years later, the appointment of the first vicar apostolic [1] was made; but from 1631 to 1685 England was without a bishop. Following closely upon the accession of James II (1685–1688), four vicars apostolic were appointed by the Holy See and the existing missions were divided ecclesiastically into the Northern, Midland, Western and London Districts respectively.

For nearly two hundred years—from Elizabeth's time to the second quarter of the eighteenth century—Catholics were legally little better than pariahs. Priests were liable to the grim penalties of high treason for saying Mass. Schoolmasters could be fined forty shillings a day, and those who harbored them ten pounds a month. The laity generally could be fined twenty pounds a month for not attending Protestant church services. They were forbidden to maintain suits at law. They could not travel over five miles without a special permit. They could not enter the legal and medical professions. By the legislation of Charles II's reign (1660–1685), no Catholic could sit in Parliament, nor could he hold any civil, military, or naval office under the Crown. By an Act of William III (1694–1702),

[1] A vicar apostolic is a delegate with episcopal consecration appointed by the Holy See to govern the Church in regions where the ordinary hierarchy has not yet been established or re-established.

the nearest Protestant kin could claim lands from Catholic heirs. Finally, by Acts passed in George II's reign (1714–1727), the landed property of Catholics was subjected to special disabilities, including the double land-tax.

These harsh penal laws were not rigorously enforced. The leaven of humanity in the English people made that impossible. Indeed, from the sixteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century, there had been a gradual slackening of official pressure against Catholics. The last martyrdoms occurred in the reign of Charles II. In the frenzy occasioned by Titus Oates' bogus revelations of a Popish plot to accomplish the triumph of Catholicism by violence, eight priests were put to death in 1679 in the provinces for their priesthood alone. The execution at Tyburn in 1681 of the Archbishop of Armagh, Blessed Oliver Plunket, was a sequel to this outburst of fanaticism.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, a considerable section of public opinion was opposed both to the enactment of additional laws and to the enforcement of existing penal legislation. The reign of George II (1727–1760) was the first reign since the Reformation, excluding that of James II, in which no law was enacted against any Catholic for refusing to attend Anglican services. Catholic worship was generally tolerated throughout the country, and there was little interference with the publication of Catholic literature. In spite of the decline of bigotry, however, a great deal of hostile feeling smoldered which needed very little provocation, or no provocation at all, to fan

into a flame. While not subjected to an active persecution, Catholics nevertheless lived in a state of anxious and dreadful uncertainty.

This uncertainty, coupled with exclusion and boycott, undoubtedly diminished the number of Catholics far more than active persecution (arousing passion) had ever done. The number of priests in the four vicariates, was considerably less than four hundred. Writing in 1780, the Rev. Joseph Berington estimated the total Catholic population at about sixty thousand, or one in one hundred and fifty of the estimated population of England and Wales. Of this number, between twenty and twenty-five thousand were in the London District, twenty thousand in the Northern, nine thousand in the Midland, and over three thousand in the Western District. The majority of the laity was English. The total number of Irish immigrants in London was between four and five thousand, and in the rest of England about two or three thousand. In subsequent years the Irish immigration increased to such an extent, particularly as a result of the famine which began in 1845, that the proportion between English and Irish Catholics was completely reversed in favor of the latter.

The greater part of Bishop Challoner's vicariate (1741–1781) [2] was a time of shrinkage, of social ostracism, of continuing restrictions and harassing dis-

[2] Richard Challoner, vicar apostolic of the London District, also exercised episcopal jurisdiction over Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Nine years after his death, John Carroll was consecrated first bishop of Baltimore.

abilities that took a heavy toll. The old forces were spent, and the new forces which were to result in the Catholic Revival had not yet stirred. Nothing was then possible—save endurance.

During this period of acute religious depression, urban Catholics took no part in the life of the nation. Helpless victims of common informers, they were, as Cardinal Newman called them, truly a *gens lucifuga,* a people who shunned the light of day, "found in corners, in alleys, in cellars, on the housetops or in the recesses of the country; cut off from the populous world around them and dimly seen, as if through a mist or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro, by the high Protestants, the lords of the earth." [3]

The situation was somewhat better in the country. In the rural districts the ancient creed was maintained almost wholly through the efforts of nobles and squires who, by supporting chaplains and giving employment to Catholics, maintained, as it were, oases of Catholicism. But it was for this class of men, who had renounced brilliant careers rather than deny their religion, that the sacrifices demanded by fidelity were heaviest and the reward for conformity to Anglicanism greatest. Moreover, the Catholicity of numbers of the more lowly was dependent upon them. When a Catholic family of distinction failed of issue, or conformed to the Established Church, or married Protestants, or became totally indifferent about religion, the private chaplain was discharged, and Catholics in the immediate neighborhood of the manor, deprived of a

[3] John H. Newman, *Occasional Sermons,* p. 172.

place of worship, soon fell away. Very few new centers were organized to make good the loss. A sense of utter hopelessness and frustration weighed heavily upon the harassed Catholic minority which was now, at the eleventh hour, to benefit both from Britain's embarrassments and from the more humane and Voltairian temper of the times.

First Catholic Relief Act

Sir John Dalrymple first secured an interview with Bishop George Hay of Scotland—the Government regarded Catholic Highlanders as the most desirable recruits for the Army—and received from that alert prelate a digest of minimum Catholic terms. Returning to London shortly after the outbreak of the war with France, he called upon Bishop Challoner who, at the age of eighty-seven and fearful of anti-Catholic reprisals, was not inclined to speed the negotiations. Bishop Walmesley of the Western District expressed the opinion of many Catholics when he bluntly asserted that, if some small measure of relief was granted, substitute repressive legislation would undoubtedly make the lot of the outlawed Catholic minority even more intolerable.

Dalrymple was about to report the failure of his mission when he chanced to meet a young Catholic barrister of Gray's Inn, William Sheldon by name, who expressed the opinion that the matter could be handled satisfactorily by the laity. Accordingly a committee of laymen was hastily organized, and at a meeting at the Thatched House Tavern it was decided to ask simply

for the repeal of a few of the more obnoxious penal laws (11 and 12 William III). The requirement of a special oath of allegiance from all Catholics, which was inseparable from the measure, received the timid approval of Bishop Challoner. In a remarkably short time, without opposition in Parliament or dissension among Catholics, the first Catholic Relief Act received the royal assent in 1778.

The Act was the first step on the road to complete emancipation. It abolished both the reward of one hundred pounds to informers against priests and schoolmasters, and the right of the nearest Protestant heir to lay claim to a Catholic estate. Catholics could once more legally inherit and purchase land. Apart from these legal benefits, the Act shook the general prejudice against Catholics to its center. It led the public to view their pretensions to further relief with a favorable eye, and it restored to them a thousand indescribable charities, in the ordinary intercourse of social life, which they had seldom experienced.

Yet the remaining disabilities were still sufficiently numerous to temper even the mildest enthusiasm. According to the strict letter of the law, Catholics were still forbidden their own mode of worship. They were still subject to heavy punishments for keeping schools, and still liable to penalties for sending their children abroad to school. They could not practice law or medicine. They were subject to a double land-tax by annual Act of the legislature. They could neither vote nor sit in Parliament.

The Gordon Riots

Two years after the passage of the first Relief Act, not a few London Catholics were actually ready to petition Parliament to have the penal laws re-enacted. The passage of the Act, as Challoner had foreseen, excited the malice of bigots. Some of them, under the bizarre leadership of Lord George Gordon, formed what was termed a Protestant Association, and invited all "patriotic" Englishmen to join with them for the protection of the Protestant religion against "the Popish tendencies of king and Parliament." Fifteen or twenty thousand members and friends of the Association presented a monster petition to the Commons, demanding the repeal of the Relief Act, and a no-Popery demonstration quickly degenerated into a riot.

For five days London was at the mercy of an infuriated mob. The chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors were desecrated and burned to the ground. Other well-known chapels at Moorfields, Wapping and East Smithfield were similarly wrecked. Attacks were made on Catholic homes and business establishments, and on the residences of those who were known to have favored the Relief Act. The mob then began an indiscriminate destruction of private and public property of all kinds. These excesses continued until the king issued a proclamation, authorizing the military to repress the rioters.

The victims of this no-Popery vandalism had remained quiet under great provocation. Having taken the oath of allegiance to George III, Catholics were

under the protection of the laws like other subjects, and compensation was made to them, as well as to Protestants, whose property had been destroyed. When peace and order were finally restored, Catholics asked no greater favor than to be left alone. They became, if possible, even more circumspect, obscure and silent. Yet in the long run, instead of injuring the Catholic cause, the riots contributed not a little to encourage that more tolerant attitude which was to bear fruit in the Relief Act of 1791 and, eventually, in the final triumph of the Emancipation Act of 1829.

Second Catholic Relief Act

In the years between 1780 and 1788 the fortunes of Catholics in England probably reached their lowest ebb. The slight assistance from the Relief Act did very little to check the decline in numbers, and the Gordon Riots seemed to dictate a policy of complete and utter resignation. Family prayers were daily said around the cottage table, at the mother's knee, before the cheap statue in the bedroom. The poor never willingly omitted their daily Universal Prayer or weekly Jesus Psalter, dwelling especially on the petition: "Jesus, send me here my purgatory." But hope was dead. Time had been when their ancestors, despite martyrdom and loss of estate, had yet hoped on with confidence that there would come a change. But this hope had long since perished. The vast majority of the laity did not even think about it any more. There was left nothing, so they thought, but a weary acceptance of their fate.

Only the squires and lawyers dared to hope for bet-

ter days. Their petition to George III had led to the Relief Act of 1778, and they were aware of no valid reason why, again acting independently of the vicars apostolic, they should not resume their conversations with highly placed members of the Government. Thus it happened that, when tranquil days again returned to London, about thirty distinguished laymen elected five of their number to take charge of Catholic interests in England. These determined and optimistic gentlemen were typical representatives of the old Catholic families, tough-fibered, well-traveled cosmopolitans, men of great ability without office, charitable and tenacious, a strange mixture of subtlety and hard-hitting aggressiveness. The survival of Catholicism in England was due almost entirely to them, for they supported the priests and the missions. It was perhaps a natural consequence that they should now assume exclusive responsibility for Catholic Emancipation. They did not, at the outset, dispute the authority of the timorous vicars apostolic. They simply ignored it. In an honest and sincere endeavor to rescue Catholics from the intolerable strain which was leading many to conform to the Established Church, they were prepared to go to great lengths to convince the Government of their loyalty to the House of Hanover and their strong hostility to papal interference in matters not strictly spiritual. They desired to weaken and minimize the importance of Rome in the Catholic scheme of things, and to emphasize national characteristics of Catholicism in England. Such a policy seemed to them to be the only course which offered reasonable hope of the further removal of the penal laws.

After a long delay of six years, during which time there were doubtless a large number of meetings and conferences, the laity took action. In 1788 the Catholic Committee presented a memorial to Pitt, calling upon the Government to grant that measure of toleration to Catholics in England which governments on the continent granted to dissenters. The Prime Minister courteously informed the Committee that the Government desired to grant Catholics that measure of relief which, in prudence, it could adopt; and Lord Stanhope, well disposed to the Catholic cause, offered what the Committee regarded as a very valuable suggestion. Stanhope urged that Catholics immediately disclaim some of the tenets which he thought were falsely imputed to them, and even volunteered to prepare a disclaimer for the Committee's use.

The Committee accepted the Protestant peer's preliminary draft, made a few alterations and corrections, and then induced the hesitant and reluctant vicars apostolic to sign it. The same persuasive arts were used with the clergy and laity, so that in the end the Protestation, which repudiated the infallibility of the Pope,[4] and any ecclesiastical power to dispense from the duty of allegiance to the king,[5] received about fifteen hundred signatures, of which two hundred and forty were those of priests. In their eagerness for relief Catholics were prepared to concede almost any-

[4] Papal Infallibility was not defined as a *de fide* doctrine of the Church until 1870.

[5] The deposing power of the Pope is closely intertwined with medieval legislation and outlook on life. Never defined as an article of faith, it is, however, the common teaching of theologians. Present-day popes have no mind to resuscitate their deposing power.

thing. The Protestation was duly presented to Parliament in the form of a petition, the petitioners submissively describing themselves "the Catholic Dissenters of England." It was hoped that a formal bill, drafted by Charles Butler, the capable secretary of the Committee, might be passed in the session of 1789.

This optimism proved to be short-lived. In the course of negotiations with Pitt, it was suggested that if more concessions were asked for, more assurances of loyalty to the Government should be given. The Committee accepted the suggestion and, having adopted the startling name of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters," proceeded to frame a new oath to be taken by all Catholics wishing to avail themselves of the new privileges. The new oath declared the deposing power of the Pope to be "impious," "heretical," and "damnable," and further asserted that no foreign prince had any spiritual authority that could directly or indirectly affect the independence, sovereignty, constitution or laws of the kingdom, that neither the Pope nor any ecclesiastical power could absolve or dispense in any oath or compact whatsoever, and that the Pope was not infallible. The Committee not only denied the deposing power but stigmatised it as heretical, thus branding as material heretics a large number of medieval popes. Instead of a clear statement of the Catholic teaching as to the sacredness of an oath and the duty of keeping faith with heretics, the Committee declared that *no* oath could be dispensed by *any* authority.

When the Committee condescended to show them a copy of the proposed legislation, all the vicars apostolic

condemned the new oath. They also stated that no oath ought to be taken nor any new instrument affecting religion subscribed, without their previous approbation. Disregarding this plain-spoken command, the Committee, whole-heartedly intent upon relief on almost any terms, issued a lengthy defense of the oath, and thereby precipitated a bitter pamphlet war. A slightly altered version of the objectionable oath was condemned by three vicars apostolic. The exasperated Committee retaliated with a scurrilous manifesto and appeal. The inability of the laity and the bishops to understand each other seemed for the moment to preclude any prospect of a mutually satisfactory settlement.

Meanwhile, after considerable delay, a compromise was eventually found between the Catholic Committee and the Government, and on it parliamentary action could proceed. In February, 1791, leave was obtained in the Commons to introduce a bill "to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called 'Protesting Catholic Dissenters,' from certain penalties and disabilities to which Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, are subject." Some alterations were made in the proposed oath and the bill was sent up to the House of Lords.

Unfortunately, it looked as if there were henceforth to be two classes of Catholics in England: one led by the vicars apostolic, unwilling to take the oath and therefore excluded from the privileges of the bill; the other, led by the Committee, prepared to accept the oath, and entitled therefore to the benefits of the new

legislation. Under these distressing circumstances the opponents of the oath, ably abetted by Father (later Bishop) John Milner of the Midland District, successfully appealed to Pitt and to a few influential Anglican prelates. Owing mainly to their influence, the oath was dropped, and in its place was substituted the Irish oath of 1774, which permitted Catholics to attest their loyalty by taking an oath of allegiance to the House of Hanover, but without prejudice to the Pope's spiritual authority. Though clumsily worded, the Irish oath was not doctrinally incorrect, and was therefore acceptable to all Catholics in England, and to the Government. The danger of serious dissension in Catholic ranks having been thus happily averted, the new Relief Bill became effective on June 24—the anniversary of the day on which, two hundred and thirty-two years before, the celebration of Mass had been prohibited by Queen Elizabeth.

By the Act of 1791 it was provided that Mass could be celebrated in registered chapels, possessing neither bells nor steeples, by priests who had taken the oath. Mass could also be celebrated in a private house, provided that not more than five outsiders were admitted. Catholics were allowed to practice law; and the first to be called to the Bar since the fall of the Stuarts was Charles Butler, the secretary of the Catholic Committee. But Catholics were still excluded from Parliament and denied the parliamentary franchise. They could neither hold commissions in the Army and Navy nor discharge any office of trust under the Crown. Catholic marriages had to be celebrated in a Protestant church,

the Protestant service had to be read by a Protestant minister at all funerals, and the double land-tax on Catholic property was still enforced. The clauses dealing with education were so contradictory as to be meaningless.

Even though restrictions and prohibitions still pressed heavily on the Catholic minority, Catholicism in England, even before 1791, had passed its low-water mark. During the turbulent period that immediately preceded the passage of the Act, an ever-increasing number of Catholics had become convinced that they had already traversed the greater part of the dreary desert that lay between the Red Sea of martyrdom and the Promised Land of toleration.[6] The general revival of hope and confidence was reflected in the work of the Catholic Committee, in the building plans of the aristocracy, in the erection of new chapels, and in the founding of new missions. Thus the new movement can be clearly discerned before the passage of the Act of 1791, and may properly be regarded as its cause rather than its consequence. Catholicism was beginning to expand, and this expansion received a great stimulus when the second Relief Bill removed many of the obstacles and impediments which had hindered it.

The French Revolution

However ambitious the English laity may have been to direct and carry forward the movement towards Catholic Emancipation, two fortuitous events, growing out of the revolutionary conflict abroad, caused the

[6] M. Trappes-Lomax, *Bishop Challoner*, p. 277.

postponement of all activity in this direction for more than a decade. The flight of the persecuted French Catholics in large numbers to England, and the return of English Catholic schools and colleges abroad to English soil, called into immediate action the total energies and resources of the Catholic body. Two interesting paradoxes provide the key to the new changes. First of all, French revolutionary fury, seeking the destruction of Christianity, fostered and stimulated the Catholic Revival in England. Secondly, one of the most thoroughly Protestant nations in Europe carried its opposition to the French Revolution to the extreme limit of condemning even its anti-Catholic aspects. These paradoxes are pertinent illustrations of the old Portuguese proverb that "God writes straight with crooked lines."

A few of the French clergy fled to England as early as 1789. Three years later, it was impossible to walk a public thoroughfare in London without meeting French priests. In 1793 the number of clerical refugees alone, to say nothing of the French Catholic laity, was 4,808. In 1797 it was 5,500. Early in 1800 the number had increased to over 5,600. In the autumn of that same year, however, the return movement set in. When the Peace of Amiens was signed and the Concordat between Pius VII and Napoleon published in 1802, the general exodus to France was in full progress; by the close of 1802 comparatively few French priests remained in England.

Throughout this period the English Catholic laity

had joined with the clergy and the bishops in a supreme effort to help the unfortunate exiles. Catholics had contributed generously to a special collection; but it had soon become evident that relief would have to be organized on an undenominational and humanitarian basis. A national relief committee, including two Catholic laymen, succeeded in raising £75,000. When this large sum still proved insufficient, Parliament, without a dissenting vote, authorized the expenditure of public money at the rate of about £200,000 annually. Out of this carefully budgeted amount each French bishop was granted ten pounds a month, and each priest received a little less than two pounds a month. Aids from Treasury grants continued to be paid to French refugees, in some instances, for more than fifteen years.

The effects of this French visitation were very salutary. As it became increasingly certain that there was no prospect of their immediate return to France, the exiles set about the erection of some churches for their own use. The congregations, originally French, eventually became almost entirely English. There were eight French chapels within the limits of London, and others arose elsewhere in the country. Scores of French priests sought to prove their gratitude for the hospitality they had received by devoting the remainder of their lives to missionary work in England. Accustomed to the open profession of their religion, they helped their English brethren to venture forth more boldly from their seclusion, now that some of the penal laws had been abolished, and introduced them to many

Catholic customs and practices, such as Sunday Vespers and Benediction, to which, under the stress of persecution, they had been strangers.

A second and even greater contribution to the Catholic Revival was the re-establishment in England of approximately forty English schools, colleges, seminaries and convents which, prior to the French Revolution, were scattered over the continent. Douai and St. Omer, the two great colleges for the education of English boys, were compelled to close their doors in 1793. The English College in Rome temporarily ceased to function when French troops occupied the city in 1798. Other religious bodies, expelled from their houses, one by one returned to England.

An immense sacrifice was again demanded of English Catholics. They had rallied magnificently to the support of their French brethren. They were now called upon to succor their own people who, although compelled by penal legislation to maintain their establishments beyond the seas, had constituted a vital and essential part of the English Catholic community. The gallant little handful, the insignificant one per cent. of the population, accepted the challenge with enthusiasm. Foundation stones were speedily laid, not merely of new buildings, but of a revitalized, forward-looking, apostolic Church that, within half a century, would receive into its rapidly swelling Anglo-Irish ranks such ill-assorted companions-in-arms as Newman, W. G. Ward, Faber and Manning.

Old Hall, later known as St. Edmund's College, was opened in 1793. Stonyhurst was established by the ex-

Jesuits of Liège in 1794,[7] Oscott about the same period, and Crook Hall, later changed to Ushaw College, in 1803. The Benedictines settled at Ampleforth in Yorkshire in 1803 and at Downside in 1814. In addition to these centers of learning, many communities of nuns from France and the Low Countries—Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Poor Clares—openly established convents in various parts of England for the first time in two hundred years.

Just as soon as Catholic life in England resumed something of its former quiet tempo, attention was once again directed to the cause of Catholic Emancipation. Yet no active leader appeared to give unity and singleness of purpose to the struggle. It was therefore inevitable that English Catholics, as deficient in leadership as in numbers and unity, should eventually be forced to surrender control of the crusade for Emancipation into the hands of the Irish.

The Act of Union

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, while English Catholics were wrestling with the problems occasioned by the French Revolution, the Irish had not been idle. In 1793 the Irish Catholic Committee appealed directly to George III—ignoring the Irish Parliament which was composed entirely of Protestants—and succeeded in obtaining a generous measure of relief. George and his ministers were convinced of the necessity of a conciliatory policy. Wolf Tone was

[7] The Society of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV in 1773, was restored by Pius VII in 1814.

actively engaged in organizing the United Irishmen, a new society which aimed at uniting Protestants and Catholics for the purpose of effecting a democratic reform of the Irish Parliament. Furthermore, so long as discontent was rampant in Ireland, there was grave danger that France might intervene and use Ireland as a base of operations against Great Britain. Irish Catholics were therefore granted the right to vote in parliamentary elections—a right which had been withheld from English Catholics in 1791—and were admitted to the Bar and to most grades as officers in the Army and Navy. They were still shut out from Parliament and from high political offices.

Despite such an auspicious beginning, the favorable attitude of the British Government towards Ireland did not give rise to a settlement. The war against France led to a coalition between Pitt and his Tories and a section of the Whigs. Pitt intended to keep the upper hand, but it was agreed that Ireland should be a sort of Whig protectorate. Lord Fitzwilliam, a friend of the Catholic cause, was accordingly appointed Lord Lieutenant. Convinced that Emancipation was necessary in order to secure the pacification of the country, Fitzwilliam proceeded at once to dismiss certain reactionary members of the Irish Government. Upon appeal to London, Pitt had to make the choice of either sustaining Fitzwilliam or destroying the Protestant ascendancy. The cabinet was divided on the issue, but the King sent Pitt a statement of his strong objection to Emancipation. Unwilling to abandon his support of the junta which ruled Ireland, Pitt recalled the popular

Lord Lieutenant. Thus the policy of conciliation came to an abrupt and inglorious close. For the next three years the drift to rebellion was gradual, through anarchy, agrarian crime, and a revival of religious fanaticism. The heroic uprising of 1798 was quickly crushed.

The project of a legislative union with Great Britain was now publicly discussed. Pitt's great design was a parliamentary union of the two islands, accompanied by Catholic Emancipation. What he actually accomplished was the destruction of the Irish Parliament without the smallest concession to Catholics. The Union was achieved, partly by bribing a majority of the members of the Irish Parliament (a task which nauseated even Cornwallis and those who did the buying), partly by securing the acquiescence of Catholics. Catholic hostility to the Union was allayed by what amounted to a promise to the Irish bishops that Britain would offer a State provision for the clergy, accompanied by a royal power of veto over episcopal appointments. Acting upon this supposed understanding, ten bishops, at a meeting at Maynooth College in January, 1799, passed a resolution conditionally accepting what they regarded as an offer of State provision for the clergy and admitting the right of the Government, in return, to interfere in the appointment of bishops. To the Catholic laity, particularly the gentry, was thrown out the prospect of admission to the Union Parliament.

As soon as the Union was achieved in 1800, Pitt called a cabinet meeting to discuss Emancipation. He had said nothing to the King on the subject, thinking,

doubtless, that it would be less difficult to gain his consent if a complete plan was presented to him as the policy adopted by the cabinet. In this he was to blame, and he acknowledged it. When the King let it be known that he would reckon any man his personal enemy who advocated Emancipation, Pitt did not seriously attempt to overcome his opposition. He resigned in favor of Addington; but he also sent the King an assurance that, during His Majesty's reign, he would never again raise the Catholic question. The net result of these transactions was that Irish Catholics regarded themselves as the victims of a fraud, of a shameful breach of faith.[8]

The Veto Question

The Irish effort to gain Emancipation having in turn bogged down, English Catholics, in the year 1808, determined once more to organize themselves for action. The new Catholic Board differed from the Catholic Committee of the previous century in that the lay founders invited all the vicars apostolic and the clergy generally to join. Working in close consultation with those Tory and Whig members of Parliament who favored the Catholic claims, and with Henry Grattan and a small group of Irish reformers at Westminster, the Board attempted to work out a compromise that would be acceptable both to Catholics and to the enemies of Emancipation who feared for the Anglican Establishment. Inquiries were made with regard to the position of the Catholic Church in other countries, and

[8] Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, p. 352.

about the methods by which the various governments assured themselves of the obedience and loyalty of the bishops and clergy. It was found that foreign governments had a voice in the appointment of bishops. Of particular importance was the fact that the English authorities claimed the same rights over the Catholic Church in Canada as they were accustomed to exercise in regard to the Anglican Establishment. They approved candidates selected for the bishoprics, controlled the appointment of priests, and supervised the administration of the temporal affairs of the Church.[9]

Neither the English nor the Irish Catholics would consent to such direct and active participation by the Government in Church affairs; but the English Catholics tried to meet the Government half way on the issue. The Catholic Board favored a procedure which would give the English Government merely a veto on the appointment of bishops. Bishop John Milner, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District and agent of the Irish bishops,[10] fully aware that in 1799 ten members of the Irish hierarchy had conditionally accepted the principle of the veto, stated that, while he had no instructions from the Irish bishops on the point, he had good grounds to believe that they might be disposed to allow the King "a negative power" on episcopal nominations.

Under these circumstances, Grattan moved, in May,

[9] James McCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, p. 337.

[10] Milner enjoyed the full confidence of the Irish hierarchy, and was requested by them, in 1807, to act as their agent in London in all matters pertaining to Catholic Emancipation.

1808, for a committee of the whole House to consider a Catholic petition for Emancipation. He claimed authority to say that "no Catholic bishop shall be appointed without the entire approbation of His Majesty." Lord Grenville sponsored the petition in the House of Lords. The motion was rejected by large majorities in both Houses.

When the report of the parliamentary proceedings reached Ireland, it aroused universal indignation. With only three dissenting voices, the Irish hierarchy asserted that "it was inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Roman Catholic bishops," but pledged themselves to recommend for appointment only persons of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct. Bishop Milner promptly veered about and became an ardent opponent of the veto. Thus began those bitter disputes which, continuing for twenty years, caused serious dissension in the ranks of English and Irish Catholics, and divided the English and Irish bishops.

This dissension was particularly evident when, in 1813, Grattan again moved that the House consider the state of the laws affecting Catholics. The resolution was carried by a large majority; but the ensuing bill, containing four or five sets of restrictions and no fewer than six new oaths guaranteeing Catholic loyalty, collapsed in committee. Ardently championed by the Catholic Board, it was vigorously opposed by Milner and the Irish bishops. The Catholic Board lost patience with Milner, and expelled him from member-

ship. The Irish bishops, however, congratulated him, and thanked him heartily for his services.

In the following year, this rankling dispute on the question of the veto was transferred to Rome where, in the absence of Pius VII, the Catholic Board secured from Monsignor Quarantotti, acting Secretary of Propaganda, a rescript to the effect that English Catholics should receive and embrace "with content and gratitude" the law which had been proposed in 1813 for their emancipation. When the Pope regained his liberty (he had been Napoleon's prisoner for many months at Fontainebleau) and was informed of the Anglo-Irish controversy, he was inclined to favor the British side. Apart from the merits of English Catholic policy, common resistance to Napoleon had brought the British Government and the Holy See more closely together; and Pius still stood in need of the assistance of British might and diplomacy.

Having therefore studied the dispute very carefully, first in isolation and then as but one phase or factor in the totality of Vatican diplomacy, Pius VII announced, through Cardinal Litta, Permanent Secretary of Propaganda, three different forms of oath which he would permit Catholics to take—in case the grant of Emancipation should be conditional on the taking of some oath. Regarding the veto question, he stated that, while the oath of allegiance to be taken by the bishops offered adequate security, he was willing to give further satisfaction to the British Government. He would allow the list of candidates for vacant sees to be presented to the King's ministers, in order that they might

strike out the name of any undesirable candidate, "care, however, being taken to leave a sufficient number for His Holiness to choose therefrom." This decision, which was indirectly a severe condemnation of Monsignor Quarantotti's rescript, and which merely stated the concessions which Catholics might take in order to secure Emancipation, was accepted in England, except by Milner, and rejected in Ireland, except by the Catholic gentry.

Daniel O'Connell

In view of the papal pronouncement, the Irish Catholics were apparently attempting to be more Catholic than Pius VII himself. They had good reason to distrust the promises, or near promises, of the English Government. At the same time, it is at least probable that Emancipation would have been won long before 1829 had it not been for Irish intransigence. Yet it was an Irishman, a big, burly, rollicking and eloquent Irishman, who was most responsible for ultimate victory in the Emancipation struggle. Growing tired of the dissension inspired by the veto question, Daniel O'Connell, who had by this time become generally recognized as the leader of Irish Catholics, united all sections of the country in a revitalized Catholic Association. All Irish Catholics, no matter how poor, were invited to contribute at least a penny a month to the Association fund.

In most counties the Irish peasants were habitually driven as sheep to the polls by their landlords. But when a vacancy occurred in Waterford, the liberal element in that city decided to oppose Lord George Beres-

ford and to work for the election of Villiers Stuart, a popular young Protestant and a strong advocate of Emancipation. Thomas Wyse, Stuart's campaign manager, was very successful in arousing the forty-shilling freeholders, the lowest and poorest class entitled to the franchise, to a realization of their political power. The revolt of the peasants against their landlords destroyed not only the Beresford supremacy but the political monopoly of Protestant-ascendancy landlords in three other constituencies. O'Connell's subsequent victory in the Clare Election of 1828 convinced the English government that refusal to meet the Irish demands meant civil war. Wellington and Peel accordingly prepared to grant Emancipation, in order to avoid a serious crisis, and to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders, in order to destroy the arm by which that freedom had been won. The Emancipation bill passed both Houses with comfortable majorities and received George IV's very reluctant assent on April 13, 1829. On the very same day, the bill to disfranchise the small Irish freeholders also passed its final stages.

The Emancipation Act conferred on English Catholics the elective franchise which their brethren in Ireland had enjoyed since 1793. In addition, English and Irish Catholics were permitted to sit in Parliament, to hold all civil and military offices (with a few specified exceptions), and to belong to any corporation. So far as English Catholics were concerned, however, the Act contained certain miserable restrictions which in practice were, for the most part, wisely ignored.[11]

[11] The last disabilities were removed by the Catholic Relief Act of 1926.

With very few exceptions, English Catholics were well satisfied with the result. A few days after the Act received the royal assent, eight Catholic peers took their seats in the House of Lords. In the general election that followed the death of George IV in 1830, five English constituencies were represented by Catholics. The vicars apostolic urged the faithful, who had lived "in comparative separation and exclusion from the pomps and vanities of the world," to observe "a more steady watchfulness over all your thoughts, words, actions and impressions." Such advice was not calculated to disturb the easy-going enjoyment which the laity derived from their improved status. The bond of union which had held English and Irish Catholics politically together was speedily severed, and while the latter continued to prosecute the tithe war with undiminished vigor, the former, unconscious of any real grievance, did not seek new worlds to conquer.

The number of English Catholics in 1829 was approximately two hundred thousand, and the four hundred chapels in England and Wales were served by fewer than five hundred priests. The vast majority of English Catholics were like men blinded by the light when they have come out of darkness. They had grown used to living among themselves. They had developed a solid spirituality, stereotyped by time and sanctioned by long usage. They looked with suspicion on new things. They had no wish to proselytize, or even to attract attention to themselves. The influence of the penal laws was still very strong. These factors ac-

count in great measure for the apparent lethargy which persisted almost unchallenged in Catholic ranks until Wiseman's first lengthy visit to England in 1835.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF WISEMAN

NICHOLAS PATRICK WISEMAN, the founder of the revived Church in England, was a zealous priest of broad vision and great enterprise who, early in life, achieved an international reputation as a linguist (he was master of at least six languages) and as an Oriental scholar. Born in Seville in 1802, the son of an Irish merchant who had settled in Spain, he began his education at an Irish boarding school, and later entered Ushaw College in England. As a boy of sixteen he went to Rome to complete his ecclesiastical studies at the reopened English College. Wiseman was ordained in 1825, having meanwhile taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity with honors. His *Horae Syriacae,* a work of great learning, appeared in 1827. In the following year he became rector of the English College, and for ten years acted as the curator of the Arabic department at the Vatican Library. During his long residence in Rome, Wiseman became acquainted with many distinguished ecclesiastics and scholars, and with statesmen and other public personages on the continent and from England, both Catholic and Protestant. In the spring of 1835, just prior to his visit to England, he delivered in

Cardinal Weld's rooms in the Palazzo Odeschalchi his celebrated lectures on *Science and Revealed Religion,* which received much attention and ran through several editions.

The Catholic Revival in England, about which Wiseman was only moderately well informed, had its full counterpart on the European continent. The Revival, particularly in Italy, Germany and France, was a definite force about 1835 and was in full progress about 1840. A number of Catholic leaders, in the early nineteenth-century reaction against the irreligious mania of the French Revolution, had prepared the way for a new host of theologians, historians, orators and social reformers. Wiseman was personally acquainted with many of these distinguished men, all of whom were in different ways fired by the hope of a great triumph for the Catholic Church, to be won by a new apologetic couched in popular language and by splendid deeds of Christian charity and self-denial.

Wiseman Visits England

Wiseman kept intimately in touch with continental developments; but he was primarily interested in the progress of the Revival in England. Having conversed with Newman, as he was completing a Mediterranean vacation, Wiseman had been deeply impressed by the Catholic temper of the young Anglican clergyman, and hopes for the conversion of England to Catholicism, derived from this meeting in 1833, had a decisive influence on his future plans.

Shortly after Newman's return to Oxford, one of

his associates denounced a Whig measure for the suppression of ten Anglican bishoprics in Ireland as an unjustified interference by the Government in matters ecclesiastical. This strong protest was followed by the long series of *Tracts for the Times* which crystallised the Oxford Movement. The first pamphlet, on the Apostolic Succession, written by Newman, appeared in the autumn of 1833. Subsequent tracts were written by Newman and by other members of the High Church party.[1] They dealt with the essential nature of the Christian Church, the errors of the various churches in Christendom, the current objections to the Church of England, its alleged position as part of the Catholic Church, and its liturgy. Translations from the writings of the early Fathers of the Church appeared in these early pamphlets, forty-six of which were published by the end of 1834.

When copies of the tracts reached Rome, Wiseman, now thoroughly alive to the situation, abandoned his Oriental studies and prepared to visit England for the purpose of determining how he might best co-operate with English Catholics in fostering the Catholic Revival in his adopted country. Inspired and exalted by the impressive evidence of the strength and fruitfulness of the Revival on the European continent, Wiseman landed in England, full of fervent hopes for the future, only to find, to his immense chagrin, that the remnant of the long-proscribed English Papists were not in

[1] The High Church party, firmly orthodox in the Anglican sense, emphasized the independence of the Church, offered religious "liberalism," and sought to praise and reassert the value of old and tried forms of religious usages. See Tracts 38 and 41.

the least ripe for any vigorous forward movement or prominent participation in public life. To his utter dismay he discovered that the Oxford Movement was attracting only a negligible amount of attention in Catholic circles. He summed up his main impression afterwards by saying that Catholics "had just emerged from the catacombs," and that "their shackles had been removed, but not the numbness and cramp which they had produced."

Wiseman's quick estimate of the situation, however, included certain other signs in the spiritual heavens which he regarded as highly encouraging. A new college had been founded at Prior Park, and a new building was being erected at Oscott. Foreign missionaries were becoming established and were introducing a more fervent type of devotion to supplant the dry, formal, restrained form of piety practiced by English Catholics. The number of chapels in England and Wales had increased from less than four hundred in 1829 to more than five hundred in 1835. Even though it is conceded that the majority were tiny buildings, still an increase of more than one hundred chapels in six years would seem to indicate unmistakable numerical progress.

Yet this heartening progress presented a problem of unusual delicacy which Wiseman was not slow to appreciate. Unlike the hereditary Catholics, the early converts of the nineteenth century had experienced neither the irksome restraints of the penal laws nor political disfranchisement and, as a consequence, possessed none of those inhibitions which dictated an avoidance of,

rather than an active participation in, the life of the nation. Almost without exception, they believed in the rapid return of England to Catholicism and were already, despite the prudent admonitions of the Old Catholics, extremely active in trying to hasten it.

Wiseman assumed the leadership of this small, forward-looking group and began his life-long efforts to interpret the converts and the Old Catholics to each other, to curb the radical and controversial apostolate of the former and to stimulate and quicken into new life the extremely conservative activities of the latter. While his sympathies were quite definitely with the converts, he consistently refused to permit the Old Catholics to be abused. The latter were not less devoted to their religion simply because they had been unable to acquire an education either at Oxford or Cambridge.

The general status of religion in England next attracted Wiseman's attention. His rapid survey led him to conclude that, for possibly the first time since the Reformation, Catholics could obtain a respectful hearing.

English society, as Wiseman conceived it, had emerged from the stability of the Georgian world and had not yet become set in the mold of Victorianism. In this transition period the Whigs, the party of reform, had widened their attack to include, not only the State, but the Establishment as well. The strength of the Established Church was to be found in its moderation, decorum, and the tolerance which it manifested towards all shades of religious opinion among its members. Its weaknesses were all too glaringly revealed in its willing-

ness to subordinate ecclesiastical to secular power, its smugness and indifference, its pluralism, absenteeism and nepotism. The Evangelicals, who sought to impress upon English society the Wesleyan mark of simple and urgent Protestantism, were relatively free from some of these faults—indifferentism in particular—but they did not give the tone nor determine the essential character of early nineteenth-century English religion. The Anglican hierarchy contained not a few unbelieving Tories who were far more interested in hunting or horse racing than in the discharge of their routine episcopal duties. The majority of the clergy were, in general, kindly, sociable men, apt to pride themselves on their cheerfulness and quick wit, but often dull, quarrelsome, and insufferably pompous. The universities were just beginning to awaken from a long age of lethargy.

Anglican leaders became very much concerned about the dangers which threatened the Establishment and tried desperately to quicken the moribund energies of an institution which, so long shielded from the rough winds of controversy, was ill-prepared to meet the hostile challenge of what Gladstone called "an agitated and expectant age." They differed among themselves, however, as to the best means of rallying Protestantism for defense against Catholicism and against religious unbelief.

While Anglicans were thus debating the future of the Establishment, and at a time when a great many spiritually impoverished people were looking for some noble and inspiring faith, Wiseman began a series of lectures on the ancient religion in the old Sardinian

chapel in London. The success of the lectures was phenomenal. Sunday after Sunday the church was filled to overflowing with eager listeners, the majority of whom were Protestants. The experiment was repeated with even greater success at Moorfields the following year.

Despite the deprecatory murmurings of the Old Catholics, Wiseman gave convincing proof of the interest that might be aroused in Catholicism by a little exertion. The spirit of enterprise, quickened among English Catholics by his tireless activity, found expression in the founding of the *Dublin Review,* the joint creation of Wiseman and O'Connell, and a little later, in the formation of the Catholic Institute, designed to "vindicate" Catholicism from "calumnious defamation," and to protect "its poorer and more defenceless adherents from oppression for conscience sake." The Catholic Revival slowly began to gather force and momentum.

Wiseman returned to Rome in September, 1836, and reluctantly resumed his duties as rector of the English College. His heart was in England; but it was not until 1840 that he was permitted to establish a permanent residence in the country. Meanwhile, as an involuntary exile, he watched with keenest interest the efforts made by English Catholics to regain their prestige after their long abstention from public affairs. Wiseman constantly advised and encouraged them. He also corresponded with the Catholic Liberals of France and Germany, with O'Connell and his Irish supporters, and with Protestants of all shades of opinion. Nor was he

unmindful of the Tractarians. In a series of articles in the *Dublin Review* he followed, step by step, the progress of the Oxford Movement, treating it always with sympathy and understanding. At the same time he tried to make its leaders realize the impossibility of remaining midway between Catholicism and Protestantism. He did not expect numerous conversions immediately, but he looked upon the growth and development of Catholic ideas in the bosom of the Church of England as a happy omen.

In the summer of 1839 Wiseman again visited England and gave another invaluable spur to the Catholic Revival. He preached about ninety times in six weeks, averaging an hour each time. But his major contribution to the Revival was the publication of his famous essay on St. Augustine and the Donatists, which pressed home the striking parallel between the Tractarians and this fourth-century heretical sect. The Donatists had been able to prove the continuity of their priesthood; but St. Augustine had properly insisted that continuity was of no value so long as the Donatists remained in open schism and refused to accept the supremacy of the Holy See. Wiseman pointed out that, even if the Tractarians could prove that Catholic continuity in the Establishment had not been broken at the Reformation, the discovery would make no difference, since the Church of England, so long as it refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy See, would remain schismatical. Newman admitted that his theory of the *via media*—that Canterbury could serve as a shelter mid-way between Protestantism and Popery—

was "absolutely pulverized." That same summer Newman confided to one of his friends, Henry Wilberforce, that it might prove to be a duty to join the Catholic Church.

The New Era

Rome itself was not unmindful of what was happening in England; and when the hour for action struck in 1840, a series of interrelated decisions had already been formulated and were swiftly put into execution. The first definite step in the long negotiations which led to the restoration of the hierarchy was taken when the number of vicariates was increased from four to eight. Adjustments of territory were made in the four old vicariates, and four new vicariates were added. The most important of these changes was that a new Central District was carved out of the old Midland District in such a way as to include Oxford. Five men were then elevated to the episcopate: four new vicars apostolic and Wiseman, the latter being named coadjutor to the venerable Bishop Walsh in the new Central District. Then, in order to give him suitable headquarters in dealing with possible Oxford converts, Wiseman was also appointed president of Oscott College, near Birmingham. This involved displacing the existing president and vice-president there; but it was effected by raising both men to the episcopate and assigning them to the Northern and Eastern Districts respectively.

The arrival of Bishop Wiseman in England coincided with the opening of what many regarded as a new era in English Catholic history. Wiseman himself was,

in many ways, the symbol of the improved outlook. From the first he regarded Oscott, situated as it was in the very heart of England, not as an institution for the education of a few ecclesiastical students, but as "the rallying point of the yet silent but vast movement towards the Catholic Church, which has commenced, and must prosper."

The extent of the movement to which Wiseman referred, and for which he was largely responsible, may be accurately gauged by a reference to one of the minor controversies of the time. Father George Spencer, a convert, had inaugurated a prayer crusade for the conversion of England which Bishop Baines of the Western District disapproved as likely to revive anti-Catholic feeling. Furthermore, the vicar apostolic refused to believe that there were any signs at all of the conversion of the nation to Catholicism. To prove his point he had a census taken in his District. It appeared that the converts only amounted to two hundred and twenty-one, or less than one per cent of the Catholic population. If those in the other seven Districts bore the same proportion, he calculated that they would number about five thousand a year in all England, so that to convert a million would take two centuries.

Bishop Baines was undoubtedly correct in stating that there was no real sign of the conversion of England. It is worthy of notice, however, that the number of Catholics in England and Wales in 1840 was about 500,000, or an increase of 300,000 in the eleven years since Emancipation. The Catholic body in the

nineteenth century continued to grow and expand in truly amazing fashion. To the figure of 5,000 converts a year must be added, first, the natural increase of English and Irish Catholics permanently established in England, and secondly, the ever-increasing number of Irish immigrants.

Expansion during the pre-Oxford period was indeed so rapid that existing churches, schools and charitable institutions soon became almost totally inadequate. At Saffron Hill in the London District, for example, there were about 4,000 Catholics, and only a temporary chapel made out of two rooms. All the vicars apostolic gave what leadership and assistance they could, though the means at their disposal were of the scantiest. They preached charity sermons, wrote pastorals, encouraged religious Orders of men and women to make foundations, promoted collections, and frequently visited their flocks. The laity responded magnificently. One wealthy nobleman's expenditure in charity and ecclesiastical building exceeded £500,000. The majority of Catholics, three-fourths of whom were extremely poor, contributed according to their means, and there quickly developed a spirit which studded England with churches.

The Oxford Converts

Events moved rapidly at Oxford. The movement now included several younger men—Frederick W. Faber, W. G. Ward, Frederick Oakley—who were far more Roman in their tendencies than other members of the High Church party. With the avowed object of

keeping them in the Establishment, Newman wrote *Tract 90,* the last of the series, which was published in 1841. It was an attempt to give a Catholic interpretation to the Thirty-nine Articles,[2] to show that the doctrine of the Catholic Church lived and spoke in the Anglican formularies in substance and in a true sense. The *Tract* was condemned, and in 1842 Newman took up his residence at Littlemore, where he was joined by a few friends. In the following year, when the Government entered into an agreement whereby the Protestant bishop of Jerusalem should be nominated alternately by England and Prussia, thereby identifying the Anglican Church with the German Lutherans, Newman resigned his position as vicar of St. Mary's. Until 1845 he was engaged principally on his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.*

Throughout this critical and anxious period, Wiseman did everything possible to turn the Oxford Movement towards Rome, not alone by his public articles, but by his private correspondence with Newman, Ward, and other prominent Tractarians. If it had not been for him, the path of the majority of the Oxford converts would have been far more difficult, and probably many would never have reached the Church at all.

His patience and perseverance were first rewarded by the conversion of two Tractarians in 1842. Two years later, as discussion and controversy became more in-

[2] The Articles were doctrinal declarations formulated and promulgated by the Established Church, at London, in 1563, as a creed or articles of faith.

tense, Ward published his *Ideal of a Christian Church.* In this famous work he denounced the English Reformation and called upon Anglicans to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart their great sin in deserting the Catholic communion. The book was outlawed, and Ward was deprived of his university degrees. Oakley, a friend of Ward who had a chaplaincy in London, informed his bishop that he shared Ward's views. He was summoned before the Court of Arches in June, 1845, and condemned to perpetual suspension from his office. Final sentence having been passed upon the Tractarians by the highest authorities in the Established Church, by the bishops, by Oxford, and by the law courts, the exodus began.

Among the converts of 1845, Ward preceded Newman, whose reception, with that of the remaining members of the Littlemore community, took place on October 9. Before the year closed, Oakley and Faber made their submission to Rome. Nor was the Romeward movement confined wholly to Oxford. A considerable number of converts were Cambridge men. Contrary to Wiseman's glowing anticipations, however, there was never anything like a general Anglican acceptance of integral Catholicism. The moderate Tractarians remained at their posts and immediately set themselves to build up the breaches in the Established Church that had been made by their friends.

The principal significance of the Oxford Movement in the history of the Catholic Revival is that, through a thousand converts, inarticulate Catholic England spoke again. Of secondary importance was the fact that the

Oxford and Cambridge men, by their combined intellectual power and social influence, created a challenge to the ascendancy of the Old Catholics. Despite Wiseman's utmost efforts to avoid such a deplorable schism in Catholic ranks, the battle-lines were promptly and sharply drawn. The conflict raged incessantly, at first secretly and then openly, until Wiseman's own death in 1865.

Wiseman spared no pains to give the converts a warm welcome, to create Catholic friendships for them, to allay the distrust and hostility of the Old Catholics, and to smooth over the many difficulties which almost every convert at this period experienced. As the influx continued unabated, and many penniless converts sought his aid, Wiseman sponsored a nation-wide appeal for funds to tide them over until they could find some kind of profitable employment.

Newman, the most prominent of all the converts, went to Rome to study for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1847 and returned to England to found an Oratory, in honor of St. Philip Neri, in Birmingham. Here he was soon joined by Frederick Faber and his friends, and before the end of 1848 about eighty religiously inclined men of every age, most of them converts, had joined the new community. Faber subsequently established an Oratory in London where he introduced a number of Roman and continental innovations—statues, votive candles, hymn singing and sermons at daily evening services—which were contrary to the ideas of prudence entertained by the Old Catholics.

W. G. Ward, who had married, retired to a little house at Old Hall, close to St. Edmund's College, and lived there for three years in great seclusion. He had called upon Dr. Griffiths, vicar apostolic of the London District, and had been greeted in this fashion: "We are glad to welcome you, Mr. Ward. Of course we have no work for you."

If Ward remained silent, at least two of the recent converts made themselves very busy in Rome, praising Wiseman and lodging complaints against the conservative administration of the vicars apostolic, especially in the London District. The Old Catholics feared the revolutionary influence of the converts. Wiseman was the converts' true friend. But he was not at the helm; and it was not until a later date that he was able to secure them full play and full scope for their abilities.

Meanwhile, the vicars apostolic were intently fostering an important project of their own. One of the last acts of Bishop Griffiths was to join with the other vicars apostolic in sending Wiseman to Rome in 1847 to petition for the restoration of the hierarchy. Wiseman was in Rome from June 9 to August 24, and the main issue was favorably decided by Pius IX. The details were subsequently worked out in Rome with the counsel and assistance of Bishop Ullathorne of the Western District, who substituted for Wiseman as the agent of the vicars apostolic. Wiseman himself was ordered to London, on a special diplomatic mission, to ascertain what support England would give the Papacy in carrying out a liberal reform policy in the Papal States. He did not return to Oscott. The news of the death of Bishop Griffiths reached Rome on August 16.

In less than two weeks Wiseman was appointed to succeed him, with the provisional title of pro-vicar apostolic. He therefore took up his residence in London.

As soon as Wiseman became personally known, the progressive element among the clergy and laity gladly accepted his dynamic leadership; but a larger and even more resolute group, the so-called Moorfields party, decided to oppose his "Romanizing" and "innovating" spirit. Wiseman's predecessor, Bishop Griffiths, had been a holy and industrious prelate; but he had long run in a groove and lacked that elasticity of mind which a new order of things demanded. Wiseman's work in the London diocese would have been far more fruitful if the spirit of reaction had been less strong. Still in early middle life, Wiseman was gifted with learning, enthusiasm, emotional power, and imaginative vision. He had the strength to carry through his programs; but he lacked the capacity to make them acceptable. One critic summed up the whole matter by saying that Wiseman was "autocratic."

Irish Immigration

In a high-handed manner, perhaps, but with all the ardor of his generous soul, Wiseman shouldered a burden of responsibility that would have crushed a less capable administrator. The same year which saw the conversion of Newman was the first of the three successive years of frightful famine which caused a million deaths in Ireland, and let loose a flood of Catholic immigrants into London, Liverpool, and other large cities.

This vast tide of immigration radically changed the

proportional status of English Catholics. In the first half of the century, English Catholics were in the majority. In the decades after the famine, the predominance was Irish. The Catholic population in 1851 was one million, or an increase of one hundred per cent in eleven years. A considerable proportion of this increase was Irish. According to a Government census in 1851, twenty-nine out of every thousand enumerated in England and Wales had been born in Ireland. Not all the Irish, of course, were Catholics; and not all of them made England their permanent home. But it is significant that, by his own confession, the chief sacrifice that Manning made in becoming a Catholic in 1851 was that "I ceased to work for the people of England, and had henceforth to work for the Irish occupation in England."

While the majority of Catholics in England, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, were either Irish or of immediate Irish descent, they were, nevertheless, no more than the rank and file of a great army, with scarcely more voice in its direction than the Irish Catholic soldiers in Wellington's army. Even when the majority of the clergy in England had become Irish, through the founding of so many new missions and parishes, of which Irish priests were the devoted pioneers, the hierarchy and the recognized leaders of the laity were overwhelmingly English.[3]

By way of summary, it may be said that the Oxford Movement brought into the Church a large number of

[3] Denis Gwynn, *A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation*, intro., p. xvi.

very able preachers and writers, men of an intellectual cast of mind, who gave strength and dignity to the Catholic Revival. The specific contribution of the Irish to Catholic life in England, in addition to numbers, was the building, by their pennies and very often by their volunteer labor, of a great many churches in all parts of the country which eventually became important centers of the Revival.

In the years immediately following the famine, however, the Irish were destitute, emaciated, fever-ridden. Wiseman sought them out in the dark and pestilential slums near Westminster Abbey and became acquainted at first hand with the squalor, wretchedness and disease of those whom he later described as "a huge and almost countless population." The poor had no churches, no missions, no priests, no schools. What he had seen and heard and smelled haunted Wiseman all the rest of his days; and his inability to do very much quickly and speedily to relieve the situation became a source of continual anguish to him.

In a letter to an old friend,[4] dated January 25, 1850, Wiseman gave a digest of the work he had accomplished in London. "In less than two years," he wrote, "we have established—and I hope solidly—seven new communities of women and three of men in the District; have opened two orphan houses; have set up an excellent middle school, or grammar school, containing seventy boys already; and have opened four new missions in the heart of the poor population and at least seven others in different parts. This year I have a good

[4] Monsignor Charles Newsham.

prospect of four great establishments springing up in London." He then noted that 15,000 persons had been reclaimed by open-air retreats given in courts and alleys, and concluded by confessing that he sometimes felt dejected "at thinking and seeing how much there is to be done which is neglected. In one district alone we have 5,000 children to educate, and accommodation for only 400. We want a thousand things, which our wretched poverty prevents us from having."

Restoration of the Hierarchy

The more Wiseman sought to advance the Catholic Revival, the more did narrow-minded trouble-makers seek to shackle his apostolic work. Wiseman's critics, both in London and Rome, charged him with being too much under the influence of the aristocracy. They grieved that he was spending all the hard-earned savings accumulated by his predecessor. They accused him of being so devoted to the converts that the Old Catholics felt neglected. These carping criticisms unfortunately received far more attention at the Vatican than they deserved. When Bishop Ullathrone reached Rome in May, 1848, to carry on negotiations on the hierarchy question, he found it necessary to insist that Wiseman could not be removed from the London District without an implied censure.

As the final negotiations for the restoration of the hierarchy were drawing to a close, the objection was raised that Wiseman was too young—he was forty-six—to be the first archbishop, and that much older

bishops were more deserving of the honor. A compromise was effected whereby the venerable Bishop Walsh of the Central District was named archbishop, with Wiseman as coadjutor with right of succession. Notwithstanding his weak state of health, Bishop Walsh obediently moved to London. Within a week he issued a very tactful pastoral in which he declared that his only work would be to support Wiseman, "whose zeal and energy are so well known."

Wiseman's critics now sought his removal as coadjutor. They accused him of the deadly sin of ambition, of wanting the archbishopric and scheming for it. Some of the Irish bishops constantly intrigued against him. While the Vatican hesitated, the revolutions of 1848, which necessitated the departure of the Pope from Rome, caused an indefinite postponement of the measure to restore the hierarchy. Early in 1849 Bishop Walsh died, and Wiseman succeeded him as vicar apostolic. In the following year, when Pius IX and the cardinals returned to Rome and resumed consideration of English affairs, Wiseman received a letter informing him that he was to be raised to the purple. As no mention was made of the restoration of the hierarchy, he properly concluded that he would have to leave England and reside in Rome. But before he reached the Eternal City, the other vicars apostolic had already persuaded Propaganda [5] that Wiseman should

[5] The Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* (for the propagation of the faith) regulates ecclesiastical affairs in countries in which the hierarchy is not yet, or only imperfectly, established.

be permitted to return to England in some capacity or other. Pius IX then decided that he was to be Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

On Michaelmas Day, September 29, 1850, the papal brief for the restoration of the hierarchy was promulgated. For eight vicariates were substituted one archepiscopal or metropolitan see and twelve episcopal sees. Wiseman was created a cardinal the following day. One week later he announced both events to English Catholics in an exultant and triumphant pastoral "from out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome."

"The great work then is complete," he declared. "What you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair Churches which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic Communion: Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the center of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigor. How wonderfully all this has been brought about—how clearly the Hand of God has been shown at every step, we have not now leisure to relate, but we may hope soon to recount to you by word of mouth." [6]

While both the content and wording of this message would be perfectly understood by English Catholics, long accustomed to the language of the Church and of Church officials, it was almost a foregone conclusion

[6] Wilfrid Ward, *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman,* vol. I, p. 542.

that this same letter, appearing in the public press without interpretation or explanation, would arouse a storm of indignant protest. Considering the extraordinary sensitivity of the nation as a whole on the subject of Popery, Wiseman, in the exaltation of the moment, unquestionably sacrificed prudence to deep-rooted personal satisfaction.

As soon as the news of the restoration of the hierarchy was received in England, it was popularly assumed that the Pope intended to set aside the Anglican bishops and the Established Church, and that by parcelling out England among Catholic bishops he was guilty of a willful act of aggression against the national independence. The *Times* characterized the step as "one of the grossest acts of folly and impertinence which the Court of Rome has ventured to commit since the Crown and the people of England threw off its yoke." The Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, instead of striving to allay the violent storm of bigotry that was sweeping the country, publicly denounced the restoration of the hierarchy as an attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon England—an attempt which, he solemnly assured the Bishop of Durham, the Government and the nation would resist with all its strength. No creditable explanation has yet been advanced to explain Russell's somewhat tardy indignation. Three years previously, in 1847, a copy of the plan for the restoration of the hierarchy had been shown to Lord Minto, an agent of the Government, by Pius IX. At that time the Government offered no opposition.

Meanwhile, Wiseman was returning to England by

easy post stages, quite unaware of the popular fury which his pastoral had produced. At Bruges he received a full report from his vicar general of what was happening and, arriving in London on November 11, only a few days after he had been burned in effigy by excited mobs, he at once began the composition of his stirring *Appeal To The English People.* In this he pointed out that the Government had not protested the canonical erection of the hierarchy in Australia in 1842, and that there could be no aggression against the realm in the creation of a form of religious organization which affected only Catholics. Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which imposed a heavy fine on bishops assuming titles "to pretended sees in the United Kingdom," was purely a party move, was condemned by Gladstone and others, and remained a dead letter from the day of its enactment.

First Provincial Synod

The year 1852 witnessed a great event in the renewed life of the Catholic Church in England: the holding at Oscott of the First Provincial Synod of Westminster. It was attended by the bishops, heads of religious Orders, and the rectors of the ecclesiastical colleges, and was celebrated with the full prescribed pomp and ceremony, with pontifical Masses, and sermons by Wiseman and Newman.

The principal work of the Synod was to supersede the *Apostolicum Ministerium* of Benedict XIV (1740–1758), by which the country had been regulated during the days of the vicars apostolic, with a body of legisla-

tion conceived and formulated, not in Rome, but in England. A reign of normal canon law in England was not carried out in its fullness, however, and England still remained under Propaganda as a missionary country until 1918. This produced a certain amount of dissatisfaction among the clergy, since the full parochial system was not introduced. At the same time, the canonical functioning of the hierarchy was an enormous asset to the Catholic Revival.

Now that Wiseman was at the helm, and intensely eager to carry forward the Catholic Revival to still greater heights of achievement, he looked about for volunteers who would assist him in carrying out his progressive policy. This policy had three major aspects —the conversion of England, the intensification of the Faith among English Catholics, and the preservation of the Faith among the Irish Catholic refugees. For the first two parts of his program Wiseman was able to mobilize considerable support. Yet for the third phase he could find scarcely any support at all.

The proportion of clergy to laity in London was one in five thousand. Obviously the secular clergy were overworked and could not be expected either to assume new responsibilities or to acquire overnight a new outlook. The majority, in fact, were hostile to innovations. Old Catholics were in complete agreement with their clergy that Wiseman was forcing the pace too hard. He was continually stirring things up, evolving new plans, designing new and startling enterprises. He had introduced into England, besides spiritual retreats and missions, the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, the

devotion of the Forty Hours' Adoration, and the habit of more frequent Communion. He was constantly seeking to break down the isolation and narrow insularity of English Catholicism. But the Old Catholics interpreted these efforts as an attack upon their hallowed customs and practices. They resented the favor shown to converts. As part of Wiseman's plan for the renovation of St. Edmund's College, the archdiocesan seminary, he had appointed Ward, a layman and a married man, lecturer in moral philosophy, and later, in dogmatics. He had obtained an honorary degree for Faber. When Newman was struggling to found a Catholic university in Ireland, Wiseman had tried to secure a titular bishopric for him. It was even rumored that the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster himself had preached in the open air to a crowd of poor Irish in a London slum. Old Catholics were scandalized.

The religious communities paid scant attention to Wiseman's program. When he first came to London, he spared no pains to secure missionary Orders—Jesuits, Redemptorists, Passionists, Marists, Oratorians—to help in the work of evangelizing the poor. Five years later not one of these Orders or Congregations had undertaken the task expected of them. They were not idle. They were doing splendid work, fostering the Catholic Revival in their own way. But they were not evangelizing the poor. Either they were unable, for lack of human and material resources, to undertake such an apostolate, or such labors were not according to their rules. Wiseman consistently respected their rules and consti-

tutions; but he was exceedingly provoked when members of these same Orders criticized him because so very little was being done for the poor!

Manning

In 1851, after many disappointments, Wiseman at last found a very kindred spirit. In that memorable year, at the age of forty-four, Henry Edward Manning made his submission to Rome. He was Wiseman's junior by six years, having been born at Totteridge, Hertford, in 1808, the son of William Manning, M. P., and his second wife, Mary Hunter. He studied at Harrow and at Balliol College, Oxford, received Anglican orders in 1832, and was appointed curate, and later rector, of Lavington, a small village in Sussex. Four years of happy married life ended with the death of his wife, Caroline Sargent, in 1837. Manning's zeal, earnestness and self-denial received recognition in 1840 when he was appointed Archdeacon of Chichester. While in sympathy with Newman and the Tractarians, he did not approve of *Tract 90,* and for many years, until 1848, adhered to the theory that a return to Catholic practices did not necessarily involve submission to Rome.

In 1848 Manning was compelled to reconsider his position. In that year Lord John Russell appointed Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford, to the bishopric of Hereford. Judged by High Church standards, Hampden was a heretic. Thirteen bishops addressed a joint remonstrance to the Prime Minister,

an event without precedent since the Reformation, and other prelates, among them the Primate, expressed their disapproval in private letters to Russell. The matter was brought forward in the House of Lords, and the Government's reply was that it could not for one moment be supposed that the Crown would call an unworthy person to the episcopate. The Archbishop of Canterbury was petitioned to order an ecclesiastical inquiry, but in vain. The Primate declared that "he was obliged by his office to obey the order of Her Majesty," and accordingly he consecrated the bishop imposed on the Church by Lord John Russell. Wiseman had followed the case very carefully and wrote an article in the *Dublin Review,* pointing out the complete dependence of the Established Church on the Crown.

The case of *Gorham vs. the Bishop of Exeter* was very similar in principle. The Bishop of Exeter refused to institute Gorham to the vicarage of Bramford Speke because he denied the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The Court of Arches, on appeal, upheld the bishop's decision. But the Privy Council overruled bishop and ecclesiastical court alike and decided that Gorham's views were tenable by an English clergyman. Wiseman contributed three very effective articles to the *Dublin Review,* on the issue, in 1850. In that same year, as in 1845, a large number of Oxford and Cambridge men went over to Rome.

Manning, who had been profoundly shocked by the Hampden and Gorham judgments, resigned his archdeaconry and benefice, and was received into the Church by Father Brownbill, S. J., at Farm Street. He

then called upon Wiseman, who confirmed him and, within ten weeks, ordained him and sent him to the Accademia Ecclesiastica in Rome to begin, as one wit expressed it, his ecclesiastical studies. Manning returned to England in 1854 and made his headquarters for a time at the Jesuit church in Farm Street. When informed that his numerous penitents and converts were making some inconvenience in the church, Manning bought nine small houses in Palace Street and started a new mission. In 1857, at Wiseman's suggestion, he founded a new Congregation in London, the Oblates of St. Charles, and quickly undertook the difficult task of evangelizing the poor.

Although he began with only seven companions, a rented house, an unfinished church, and a poor school of forty children, the community prospered amazingly. In the course of two or three years the Oblates recruited thirteen new members and educated nearly all of them without expense to the archdiocese. In the Bayswater district, which Wiseman assigned to him, Manning completed the erection of St. Mary's church, and built and furnished a large community house. He built a convent for Collettine nuns and prepared to erect another convent for Franciscan nuns. In other poor districts—Pimlico, Notting Hill, Hertford—he built three new churches. He founded seven new schools for the poor. In these works Manning and the Oblates spent £30,000 of their own money.

The keynote of Manning's life of action is to be found in his strong and unwavering conviction that new forces, intellectual and spiritual, were needed in

the Church in England to meet the opportunities and developments which were being constantly created by the Catholic Revival.

"The Church," he informed Monsignor Talbot, his friend and champion in Rome, "has begun to touch upon the English people at every point, and entirely new demands are made upon it. Since the Church has re-entered into the public and private life and order of the English people, entirely new kinds of work are demanded."

Rome was not lacking in appreciation of Manning's labors and cordially approved the new line of action which Wiseman had inaugurated and which Manning was developing and intensifying with remarkable success. In 1857 Manning was appointed by Pius IX Provost [7] of the Chapter [8] of Westminster. But Manning's work was sorely tried from the very beginning by a very formidable opposition.

The Old Catholics

The Catholic Revival seemed on the threshold of great accomplishments; but the entire forward movement was bitterly assailed and resisted every inch of the way by the Old Catholics. It succeeded in spite of them. Neither prejudice nor jealousy, nor the old, national ex-

[7] A Provost is the dean or first dignitary of a cathedral chapter, appointed by the Holy See, whose principal office is to preside at capitular functions, assist the bishop when pontificating, administer to him the Last Sacraments, and conduct his obsequies.

[8] A Chapter is a body of clerics instituted for observing greater solemnity of Divine worship, and, at cathedral churches, for assisting the bishop according to Church law as his senate and council.

clusive English form of Catholicism, could halt the Revival. It gained ground steadily during the last years of Wiseman's rule in spite of the lamentable controversy which attracted universal attention.

The conflict developed quickly and deepened with extraordinary intensity. Manning was convinced that the state of practice and faith among the Old Catholics, both clergy and people, was one of the greatest evils in England. He felt certain that if it became dominant, it would paralyze the Church in the moment of its growth and expansion. "I agree with you more and more," Monsignor Talbot wrote Manning, "and see that until the old generation of bishops and priests is removed—to heaven I hope, because they are good men—no great progress of religion can be expected in England." [9]

The Old Catholics, on their part, had murmured loudly against Wiseman's drastic reforms. They now rose in rebellion against Manning, whom they feared and distrusted. They were opposed to the spirit of enterprise and expansion which the times required and which "the upstart parson" so energetically personified. What particularly exasperated the bulk of the clergy was the rapid extension of the radical Roman spirit from Bayswater to St. Edmund's College, the seminary of the Westminster archdiocese and the adjacent diocese of Southwark. Father (later cardinal) Herbert Vaughan, the vice-president, and several members of the staff had joined the Oblates and were busily at work reforming this Old Catholic stronghold. The Westminster Chapter, hostile to Manning and the Ob-

[9] Denis Gwynn, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

lates, asserted that they had the right to a voice in the management of the seminary. The issue was joined. The old order threw down the gauntlet before the new. Old Catholics and converts girded themselves for war. Open hostilities began when Manning presided for the first time at a Chapter meeting.

Two Chapter members introduced a series of interrogations, with the intention of showing (1) that their Provost, or members of his Congregation, were trying to supplant the president of the seminary and to assume its direction; and (2) that the Oblates aimed at a power in the archdiocese which was dangerous to its welfare. Manning, calm and unruffled, answered in full. When requested, he produced a copy of the Rule and Constitutions of the Oblates. The Chapter examined them, compared them unfavorably with the original Rule and Contitutions drawn up by St. Charles and petitioned Wiseman to exclude the Oblates from the seminary. After due deliberation, the cardinal annulled the proceedings. The Chapter at once appealed over his head to Rome. Archbishop Errington, Wiseman's coadjutor, prepared the Chapter's case. Wiseman took the view that his assistant was "acting as solicitor against me in a law suit," and the breach between the two old friends became irreparable.

Wiseman and Errington had been boys together at Ushaw and fellow students at the English College in Rome. When Wiseman became president of the latter institution, he appointed Errington vice-president, and when he was installed at Oscott, Errington assumed the duties of Prefect of Studies. In 1855 Wiseman, in fail-

ing health and burdened with many responsibilities, asked him to be his coadjutor, with right of succession, and Errington, then Bishop of Plymouth, had reluctantly consented. He came to London with the status of archbishop.

Differences of character, temperament and method were well known to both men. Errington was a zealous and able prelate, but a strict disciplinarian, a literal interpreter of canon law, hard and unbending, and almost entirely out of sympathy with Wiseman's enterprising and sometimes rather grandiose schemes. It was believed that he would relieve Wiseman of the routine business of the archdiocese and thus, by a division of work, clashes would easily be averted. This unrealistic optimism was rudely shattered when Errington tried unsuccessfully to bring about W. G. Ward's dismissal as lecturer in dogmatics at St. Edmund's, and when he tried to crush the Oblates and destroy Manning's growing influence in Westminster and in Rome. Errington was just as truly a representative of the Old Catholics, with their strong conservatism, as was Manning the representative of Wiseman's forward movement. A fight to the finish between these giants was, in the nature of things, inevitable.

Wiseman sent Father Patterson as his agent to Rome to explain to Pius IX that the Chapter was opposed to the Oblates and hence opposed to the Roman and ultramontane spirit which he, with Manning's invaluable aid, was trying to propagate. This dispute between Wiseman and the Chapter was referred back to England to be dealt with in a provincial synod. But Patter-

son was also instructed to canvass the possibility of Errington's removal as coadjutor. Wiseman did not inform Errington of this move, and the first word of what was happening in Rome came to him from Monsignor Talbot, a convert, Manning's intimate friend, the confidant of Pius IX, and the Pope's advisor in English affairs. In a very tactless letter Talbot informed Errington that the principal charge against him was that he was anti-Roman. Errington deeply resented the allegation that, in opposing Manning and the Oblates, he was disloyal to the Holy See. He refused to resign, since such a step would seem to confirm these assertions, would damage him in his future work and would reflect discredit on those who shared his views.

The Third Provincial Synod met at Oscott in 1859. It decided, on a technical point of law, that the Chapter's appeal to Rome was not valid; but on the general issue of the management of English seminaries, which were also secondary schools for lay students, Errington and a majority of the bishops refused to accept Wiseman's somewhat dictatorial leadership. In that same year, with a heavy heart, the ailing cardinal went to Rome. Two days later Errington arrived. Propaganda took under advisement Wiseman's plan of seminary government, and then turned to the immediate and vastly more difficult problem of his dispute with his coadjutor. As the principal issue was Manning and the Oblates, Wiseman summoned the skillful and astute Provost to Rome.

Manning was of the opinion that the essential question before Propaganda was whether England should

be organized and assimilated to the living devotions and spirit of Rome, or be permitted to perpetuate itself upon its own insular center; whether the Church in England should confine itself to a better administration of Sacraments, or should mingle itself in the life of the English people, act upon its intelligence by a mature Catholic culture, and upon its will by a larger and more vigorous exercise of the powers which had been set in motion by the restoration of the hierarchy. Propaganda may have been sympathetic to these militant views; but it is a convincing tribute to its judicial temper that it allowed Errington four months to prepare his brief. Wiseman also composed a lengthy statement.

As the dispute dragged on, and Errington steadfastly refused to resign and accept another bishopric, Pius IX put the nettlesome case into the hands of a special commission composed of three cardinals. Having carefully examined all the available evidence, the commission reported unanimously that Errington's coadjutorship should cease. Once again Pius IX tried to persuade Errington to resign. The final proposal was (1) that he should accept other employment; and (2) that he should engage to resign, but not immediately. Errington considered the matter for three days; but he could not bring himself to accept the proposal, and left Rome. The decree of his deposition was dated July 22, 1860.

As a fatal disease (diabetes) closed in upon Wiseman, he gradually slipped the helm into Manning's hands. He assigned to him his rights in the *Dublin Review,* secured for him the rank of Prothonotary Apos-

tolic,[10] and appointed him his agent before the Roman courts and tribunals. Manning proved himself to be a fearless and resourceful advocate; but in the eight cases in which he appeared for Wiseman, from 1858 to 1863, he won two and lost six.[11] Despite these reverses, Manning's merits and abilities became better known in Rome. He came to be regarded as the man most in sympathy with Wiseman's policy and hence could not very well be passed over in any discussion that might arise in the future concerning Wiseman's successor at Westminster.

In a larger sense, the major result of the cases in which Manning appeared was a clear and unmistakable definition of the legal position of the Archbishop of Westminster in relation to the bishops, the Chapter, and the ecclesiastical colleges. By safeguarding the rights of the suffragan bishops, who now had a decisive rather than a consultative voice in English affairs, the decrees undoubtedly aided the Catholic Revival. The causes of many disputes were eradicated. The hierarchy began to function canonically and therefore with a minimum of friction. No longer were the bishops heard to say that Wiseman treated them like school-boys. The synods of 1863 and 1864 were well attended, and the utmost good feeling prevailed.

The last few years of Wiseman's episcopate were

[10] A Prothonotary Apostolic is either a member of the highest college of prelates in the Roman Curia, or, as in Manning's case, an honorary prelate on whom the Pope has conferred this title and its special episcopal privileges.

[11] Cuthbert Butler, *Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne*, vol. 1, p. 256.

years of deceptive calm. A truce was declared between Old Catholics and converts, between Errington and his sympathisers and Manning and the Oblates. There was no public unpleasantness; but in quiet and devious ways each party sought to mobilize all possible strength behind their respective candidates for the see of Westminster.

The cardinal followed the bent of his own genius. From 1848 to 1863 he obtained £239,757 from the Government for Catholic poor schools, secured the appointment of Catholic school inspectors, received permission to establish Catholic reformatories, won for Catholic Army chaplains an official status, and made it possible for priests to serve as salaried prison and workhouse chaplains.

Husbanding his strength as much as possible, Wiseman revised his old sermons, lectured occasionally, and eagerly supported Father Herbert Vaughan's plans for a College for Foreign Missions. In 1863 he delivered a brilliant address at the great Catholic Congress at Malines in which he reviewed the progress of the Catholic Revival. In 1830 the number of priests in England was 434; in 1863 they numbered 1,242. The convents in 1830 numbered only 16; in 1863 there were 162. There were very few religious houses of men or monasteries in 1830; in 1863 there were 55. In London alone, for the period 1826–1863, the number of priests increased from 48 to 194; churches from 24 to 102. Hospitals or charitable institutions had no existence in 1826; they numbered 34 in 1863.

As the disease which cut short his life advanced

steadily, as the foreign policies of governments took an anti-papal turn, and as evidence of irreligion on the continent and in England multiplied, Wiseman suffered at times from great depression. When Garibaldi, the representative of an anti-papal revolution in Italy, visited England in 1864 and received a warm welcome, he rallied sufficiently to compose an indignant pastoral. The Vicar of Christ was threatened with the loss of his civil sovereignty. Wiseman bitterly deplored the fact that this injustice was not opposed but rather applauded by the powers. In December of that year, Pius IX published his famous *Syllabus of Errors,* with an accompanying encyclical, which condemned eighty irreligious propositions current at the time. Wiseman's great hope that the Church might find it possible to ally herself with the most important movements of the century, such as Liberalism, was completely shattered.

For a brief period English Catholics retreated from the world. Wiseman and the bishops declared, for example, that Newman's proposal to establish an Oratory at Oxford was inadvisable. The laity were advised not to send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge. But when irreligion threatened to absorb everything, the Catholic retreat was halted and Catholics faced about, under a new leader, to fight for the preservation of Christianity in England.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF MANNING

WHEN Cardinal Wiseman closed his eyes upon England, on February 15, 1865, he had already seen the work he had begun expanding everywhere, and the traditions of three hundred years dissolving before it. When his death was announced, the sorrow and regret of the people of England was deepened by the instinctive feeling that scant justice had been done to him during his life-time; and they tried to make ample reparation in the public manifestation of honor shown at his funeral. As a demonstration of feeling it was second only to the funeral, twelve years before, of England's greatest soldier, the Duke of Wellington.

Who was to succeed Wiseman? That became the burning question of the hour. Wiseman had refused either to select another coadjutor in place of Errington, or to signify his choice of a successor. He desired only to end his days in peace, and after several futile attempts had been made to persuade him to act, the matter had been allowed to lapse. With Wiseman's death, however, the old feud between converts and Old Catholics blazed out afresh. Party spirit ran high and intrigue flourished.

Archbishop Errington was the most popular candidate; but Pius IX regarded the presence of Errington's name on the list of candidates as a personal insult. The English Government urged Bishop Clifford, and the Jesuits Bishop Clifford or Bishop Grant. Monsignor Talbot, the Pope's advisor on English affairs, wanted Manning, and Manning himself favored Bishop Ullathorne. Pius IX took the matter into his own hands, and after considerable hesitation, on April 30 nominated Manning Archbishop of Westminster.

Manning ruled from 1865 until 1892, being raised in 1875 to the cardinalate. He fulfilled almost perfectly the popular ideal of a great churchman of the Victorian era, combining a knowledge of essential institutions, like the Crown, with a firm and dignified political liberalism and the realization of the need of radical social reforms. Essentially a prelate of action, the primary object of his constant round of activity was to bring the Catholic Church once more into open relations with the people and public opinion of England. He longed to see Catholics, clergy and laity alike, taking their full share in promoting all good works, joining forces with men of good will of whatever religion.

Manning was the first English Catholic ecclesiatic of modern times to take up the cause of the victims of the intolerable abuses in the society around him. His real claim to greatness, and his most permanent contribution to the Catholic Revival, is to be found in his early recognition of the injustices of an unbridled and unregulated capitalist system, his ringing protests against the exploitation of the proletariat, and his heroic efforts to

bring spiritual and material aid to the underprivileged. He had a deep compassion on the multitude, for they had nothing to eat. "For more than fifty years," he said, "I have lived among the people, seventeen among ploughmen and shepherds in Sussex, and nine and thirty among the people of London. I have seen and heard and known their wants, sufferings, hardships, and the defeat of their petitions and hopes, and my whole soul is with them. . . ." He believed that the future belonged to the masses, and he was eager to align the Church with the forces of democracy. But in many respects Manning was not agreeable to the Old Catholics, and he in turn abhorred their shrinking exclusiveness. Victorian Catholics, he thought, were far too prone to remain comfortably in their sacristies and churches "unconscious that Lazarus lies at their gates full of sores."

Yet despite this lack of a strong Catholic social consciousness and other powerful hindrances, the Catholic Revival made notable progress in Manning's time. In the Wiseman period there had been 600 Catholic places of worship, but in 1890 these had increased to 1,355. The number of priests, in forty years, increased from 800 to 2,478. While other denominations were losing ground, the Catholic Church not only kept abreast of the great increase of population, but distinctly gained upon it. After a lull between 1855 and 1868 the stream of conversion began again. The peak period lasted from 1869 until 1874, but a gradual flow continued until Manning's death in 1892. In the main, these converts contained a definite proportion of figures of public dis-

tinction; there were forty Catholic peers in the House of Lords in the Victorian era. And as large estates fell into Catholic hands, the old system of maintaining Catholicism in the rural areas was extended. Provision was made for the priest in the form of a total or partial endowment, a small church was built in the village, and a private oratory in the squire's house was established. The vast majority of Catholics, however, were concentrated in London, the Midlands, and in the large industrial cities of the north. Four-fifths of them were Irish workers, and it was their generosity which made possible the building of Catholic elementary schools across the country.

Manning and Newman

It is probable that the Catholic Revival would have made even greater progress if Manning's high qualities of mind and spirit had not been marred by his unbending, authoritarian estimations of men and things. In quite an unusual measure Manning was possessed with the mystical idea that he was under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit. He was absolutely convinced that certain difficult and unpopular lines of policy were entrusted to him by Providence to carry out against all human wills and as part of a great battle for the Church against the modern world. Any opposition, therefore, to his extreme Ultramontane program was invariably ascribed to unworthy motives. Manning had a special affinity for the post-Reformation Church—for the Church in action, and in controversy with those who had rebelled from her authority. In this militant scheme

of things, authority and discipline enjoyed paramount influence, while wide-ranging theological speculations, having no immediate utilitarian value, were scarcely tolerated. But his rigid and uncompromising ways were not acceptable to many English Catholics nor, in particular, to Newman, who became the outstanding spokesman of the older English attitude toward Rome. To Newman's intellectual temper, the early centuries—the patristic era—typified the genius of the Church. In those early centuries theology was not primarily occupied in refuting heretics, but in intellectually interpreting the genius of Christianity and in satisfying the deeper thought of its own champions. Manning and Newman represented two types of Catholicism. In the development of the Catholic Revival in Victorian England they were complementary. The revolution which Manning effected in social and political life, Newman's ability wrought in the intellectual world. But the former assumed a freedom of enterprise which he short-sightedly denied the latter.

In a very special way Newman desired to see a cultivated Catholic laity able to make use of the advantages of education in defense of their religion. "What I desiderate in Catholics," he wrote, as early as 1851, "is the gift of bringing out what they are, what their religion is. . . . I want a laity, not arrogant, not rash in speech, not disputatious, but men who know their religion, who enter into it, who know just where they stand, who know what they hold and what they do not, who know their creed so well that they can give an account of it, and who know enough of history to defend

it. I want an intelligent, well-instructed laity. . . . In all times the laity have been the measure of Catholicism."

Thirteen years later, in 1864, Newman gave a splendid example of his teaching in his great controversy with the Protestant Kingsley. Charles Kingsley, a bold, picturesque, but fiercely anti-Catholic writer, dealing in *Macmillan's Magazine* with J. A. Froude's *History of England,* let fall the remark that Catholic priests taught that truth was not a virtue and instanced Newman as a priest who had actually taught this. Newman replied.

This was the first time that a Catholic had fought back. Catholics had, of course, replied to arguments before. But this time a Catholic seized his man and with the best humor in the world shook him till his teeth rattled. This brilliant sword-play and Newman's subsequent *Apologia* were superb victories for the Catholic Revival.

Newman's literary friends—the converts were at this time a body both numerically and intellectually powerful—saw clearly the irreligious trends of the times, were alive to them, looked fairly and squarely at problems which seemed to menace the very foundations of religion, perceived ahead the difficulties that threatened the faith, yet tried not to obscure them, belittle them, dismiss them with soft-sounding words, or turn from them in fright. They stood for the position that all questions of philosophy, politics, history and science, short of defined dogma, were legitimate objects of free

investigation, and should be pursued to their logical conclusions irrespective of the results for Catholic apologetics and controversy. But this critical, progressive, independent spirit of free inquiry manifested itself all too frequently in flippant and ungenerous editorials, articles and book reviews. It antagonized the Old Catholics and aroused the anxiety of the ecclesiastical authorities who feared the renaissance of party divisions within the Church. Such magazines as the *Rambler* and its successor, the *Home and Foreign Review,* were, as a consequence, short-lived. Newman sadly observed that what the editors and journalists did imperfectly or wrongly affected the public ten times more than what was done well, even though the good may have been ten times as much as the bad. Newman's sympathetic attitude, however, did not coincide with official policy.

Monsignor Talbot wrote Manning in 1866 that, in his opinion, Newman's spirit "must be crushed." Manning heartily agreed. "Whether he knows it or not," Manning replied, "he has become the centre of those who hold low views about the Holy See, are anti-Roman, cold and silent, to say no more, about the Temporal Power,[1] national, English, critical of Catholic devotions, and always on the lower side. . . . I see much danger of an English Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of deprecating exaggerations, foreign de-

[1] The authority of the Pope over the Papal States, destroyed in 1870, was re-established over Vatican City in 1929.

votions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism, and it will have the worldly on its side, and will deceive many." [2]

This conflict of personalities, ideas and principles worked itself out in a number of disputes between 1860 and 1870, of which the University Question and that of the Infallibility of the Pope were the most important.

The University Question

Cardinal Wiseman dreamed fondly of the day when the growth of tolerance would make it possible for Catholics to enter Oxford and Cambridge. Religious tests were abolished in 1854, and Catholic parents began sending their sons to the universities. The matter was widely discussed in Catholic circles. Newman's opinion, although none except his own bishop appeared to be at all interested in it, was that there was considerable danger to the souls of Catholic youth going to the Protestant colleges in Oxford. The normal and desirable plan would be a Catholic university under the guidance of the Church; but he felt this to be impractical. Newman then gave earnest consideration to the alternative of establishing a Catholic college, or a church and Oratory, in Oxford. Either a college or Oratory, he maintained, would give the young Catholics the support and guidance they needed. But Manning would not accept Newman's solution of the problem because he was convinced that Catholic students, in an alien and perhaps hostile environment, were more likely to lose their own faith than to convert their fellow stu-

[2] E. S. Purcell, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 795.

dents to Catholicism. He therefore declared his opposition to the attendance of Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge, either in a college of their own or otherwise, and urged the building of a Catholic university. While the issue was being debated, Newman purchased five acres of land in Oxford and patiently awaited the decision of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Wiseman and the other bishops agreed unanimously against establishing Catholic colleges at the universities, and on the duty of discouraging Catholics from sending their sons to Oxford and Cambridge; but a majority were of the opinion that the circumstances of the moment suggested the gravest deliberation before issuing any absolute prohibition. As there did not seem to be any likelihood of establishing a Catholic university, and as Catholics at Oxford were on the increase, the question was re-opened in 1866, and Newman received permission from Bishop Ullathorne to solicit funds for a church and Oratory at Oxford. But Manning and other enemies of the project redoubled their efforts in Rome, with the result that Newman's appeal for funds was stopped by an order from Propaganda. Rome declared that the presence of Newman in Oxford would serve as a pretext for sending Catholic youth to a Protestant university, and enjoined Bishop Ullathorne to take heed lest Newman do anything which might in any way favor the presence of Catholics at Oxford. At the same time, Propaganda pressed upon the bishops the necessity of raising the studies of the Catholic colleges and schools, so as to take away the excuses made for sending boys to the universities.

Manning's first solution of the problem, prior to the Vatican Council of 1870, was to create a personal, rather than a local, university. This fantastic scheme of sending a travelling board of examiners around to the existing Catholic schools, as a substitute for university education, came to nothing, and it was not until 1873 that Manning inaugurated his ill-fated university venture in London. Owing largely to the autocratic manner in which he acted, the plan was, from the very beginning, foredoomed to failure. Manning's first major blunders were to boycott Newman and to refuse the co-operation of the Jesuits. A really strong staff of teachers was somehow got together; but Manning appointed as rector a certain Monsignor Capel, a popular preacher without a university degree and without administrative experience. The first year there were but sixteen students. At the end of the fourth year, the university was hopelessly bankrupt and had to be closed. Manning consoled himself by saying that nobody cared for higher studies and that the only reason Catholic parents wanted to send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge was entirely social—to have "latch-keys to Grosvenor Square." This criticism was both unjust and uncharitable; but for the remaining years of Manning's episcopate no attempt of any kind was made to meet the acknowledged need of university education for Catholics—to the very great detriment of the Catholic Revival.

Papal Infallibility

The debate on the universities, however important to English Catholics, was but a phase or aspect of a much

larger issue, the powers and prerogatives of the Papacy, which affected the whole of Christendom, and exercised a decisive influence on the course and direction of the Catholic Revival in every country.

As a result of the French Revolution, a whirling multitude of men thought themselves justified in speaking and acting in any way which appealed to them because they had broken away from the old framework of society. The nineteenth century opened in the midst of one of the greatest outbursts of individualism that humanity has ever known: an outburst which, on the continent at least, split into clearly marked groups the thinkers, politicians and sociologists who held to the ancient creed or were separated from it. The middle ground was being cleared, more slowly perhaps in England than elsewhere, and large numbers of people were moving in the direction either of Catholicism or of religious negation. As the drift towards chaos became more unmistakable, the Church began to turn her attention more and more to the conception of herself as an integral society with a definite, hierarchical organization. Theologians began to re-emphasize the Pauline doctrine of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ. Aspirations towards religious unity began to make themselves felt not only on the continent but in England as well. Persecutions within different countries rendered Catholics more loyal by rendering them more Roman. Ultramontanism assumed a deeper meaning as the principle of order, authority and unity, as the basic principle of reconstruction in a badly disorganized social order. Ultramontanes defended the Temporal Power and labored unceasingly for a definition of Papal Infallibility.

Devotion to the Holy See, to Pius IX, became the touchstone of Catholic orthodoxy. For the Church as a whole, the period from 1846 to 1878 is the age of Pio Nono.

Pius IX was, at the same time, the object of very great devotion and of very great hostility. His initial endeavor to establish a representative form of government for the Papal States had resulted only in revolution and bloodshed, in his flight from Rome in 1848, and in the setting up of the Roman Republic. His restoration did not, however, put an end to the conspiracies against his government; and in 1860 Piedmont seized his possessions, except Rome and the immediate environs of the city, in the process of the unification of Italy. These misfortunes had much to do with his popularity. A great part of the world felt that he was shamefully used as regards his temporal possessions. But his *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) had been received with a storm of indignation by all adherents of belief in liberalism since, quite naturally, they lacked an understanding of the philosophy and theology which lay behind the papal pronouncement. The document was denounced as a "counter-manifesto to the declaration of the Rights of Man." It was alleged that the Pope had "thrown down the gauntlet to the whole of modern culture, to the freedom of peoples and spirits," and had finally completed the "divorce" between the Church and the modern world. In reality, Pius IX condemned only those false and pernicious principles which to-day, seventy-eight years later, have yielded their full measure of totalitarianism, intolerance, war and death. But

the freethinkers howled in derision and expressed the fervent hope that the Pope would perish utterly and his religion be buried with him.

It was to be expected, under the circumstances, that individual Catholic devotion to the Holy See should, in some countries, assume a rather extravagant character. This was true in France and still more in England. For many years Manning had made the question of Papal Infallibility his own. He preached about it, issued numerous pastorals in favor of it and, in 1868, took a solemn vow to promote it in every way to the best of his ability.[3] Thus it happened that when the *Dublin Review* came into his hands, he appointed an ardent Ultramontane, W. G. Ward, to edit it, very largely with a view to using it to advance the cause that was closest to his heart. Now Ward was a powerful and acute thinker in metaphysics, psychology and ethics. He was a recognized force in the English philosophical world at a time when agnostic schools of thought were winning many adherents. But his mind, like Manning's, was constituted on very absolute lines, and this intellectual absolutism led him to publish such extreme views on Papal Infallibility that Catholics of a more liberal turn of mind began to reply to him in their own publications with more sharpness than they might otherwise have used. Ward struck back fiercely, denouncing those who disagreed with him as "unsound and disloyal" Catholics. Newman repudiated Ward's opinions and resisted

[3] Pius IX's definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, without the co-operation of a General Council, and by his own independent and sovereign authority, seemed to imply Papal Infallibility.

what he regarded as the tyranny of imposing them upon everybody as traditional Catholic doctrine. Ward never lost his old sense of discipleship of Tractarian days, yet he intrigued against Newman's return to Oxford, and calumniated him as a "worldly and anti-papal" Catholic. Thus the solution of the University Question turned on the point of Newman's orthodoxy, and since he was alleged to hold "low views," he was not permitted to exercise an influence at Oxford. Only after his death did the idea he stood for, fought for and suffered for—the entrance of Catholics into the universities on condition that strong Catholic influences were provided—come triumphantly into its own.

Ward professed to find in the Pope's own words a sufficient criterion of the precise degree of authority with which he spoke. This method enabled him to dismiss the formal tests advocated by many theologians for determining whether the Pope was, in a particular instance, speaking infallibly. He maintained that if the Pope intimated in any way that he was guiding the belief of all the faithful, and not simply inculcating a precept of discipline, his teaching was infallible. He contended that there were many papal utterances—some addressed only to private individuals—in which this condition was fulfilled. Both the infallible teaching and the proof that it was infallible teaching were thus to be looked for in the Pope's own words.

In a letter of 1866 to Ward, Newman declared that he ever thought Papal Infallibility likely to be true, but never thought it certain. He did not think a definition expedient or likely, but was prepared to accept it when

made. His opposition to the definition, as the Vatican Council drew near, was motivated by two reasons. First, he looked on it as the setting up of a bar in the way of Protestants entering the Church, and secondly, since his conception of infallibility was the old one of the standard theologians, with its clearly defined theological statement of conditions, safeguards and limitations, he feared such vague unlimited infallibility as was being advocated by Ward. Finally, he regarded Manning's unceasing advocacy of the definition as a kind of fixed idea, characteristic of his mystical way of writing and thinking.

The Vatican Council was formally convened on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1869. Newman did not visit Rome, declining because of age the cordial invitation of Pius IX to attend the theological conferences which preceded the Council. But he communicated with a number of bishops who took part in the deliberations of the Council and his attitude on the infallibility question, becoming well known, was a heavy cross for the resolute Archbishop of Westminster to bear. Manning concentrated his special talents on the important business of obtaining votes. Passing from prelate to prelate and from group to group, he drew vivid pictures of evil days to come, and dwelt at length upon the grave responsibility, in a revolutionary age, of leaving the question unsettled. Some of the older cardinals strongly disapproved of what they called his "perpetual intriguing," and the animosities he roused prevented his elevation to the cardinalate for five years to come. At the same time, Man-

ning won what to English eyes seemed almost a perfect victory when the Council finally decided upon a much amended and modified decree of Papal Infallibility.[4] On July 18, 1870, the Council held its fourth and last public session. The next day war was declared between France and Prussia and, a few weeks later, Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont, seized the opportunity to force an entrance into Rome and to overthrow the temporal power of the Papacy.

The action of the English Government in this crisis may well serve as an index to the constantly improving status of Catholicism in England. An English war vessel was immediately placed at the disposal of Pius IX, and the Government offered him hospitality on English territory. Yet this action, however laudable in itself, was not dictated solely by an altruistic feeling of sympathy for the personal misfortunes of Pio Nono. Indeed, it was apparent to nearly everyone in England that Catholicism was rapidly becoming a vital force in the life of the nation. Newman's *Grammar of Assent,* published in 1870, had a wide circulation. Almost overnight Manning had achieved an international reputation. Whereas only a century earlier Bishop Challoner had been afraid to sign his name to a letter written to another Catholic ecclesiastic in England, Manning

[4] "When the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra,* that is, when in the discharge of his office as Doctor and Pastor of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church, he enjoys, by the divine assistance promised him in Blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for the purpose of defining doctrines concerning faith or morals."

wrote to Bismarck, following the Franco-Prussian war, asking him to intercede on behalf of the Archbishop of Paris, who was held prisoner by the Paris Commune, and received a prompt response to his request. There were already many Catholics in diplomacy, and a considerable number in the Army and Navy. The professions began to receive a steadily increased quota of Catholics, and the industrial population not only developed a definite commercial element but began to filter into clerical posts of responsibility in offices and banks. Catholic scholarship received due recognition in the appointment of Lord Acton, perhaps the most erudite man of his generation, to the chair of modern history at Cambridge.

Gladstone

The Catholic advance encountered a brief but spirited resistance in High Church circles when Gladstone, a devout Anglican, published an article in the *Contemporary Review* (October, 1874), deriding what he considered "an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the Church and people of England." He quickly followed up the attack with an elaborate pamphlet entitled *The Vatican Decrees In Their Bearing On Civil Allegiance.* Gladstone was less concerned here with questions of faith and morals than with those of practical politics, the relations of Church and State, of the spiritual and temporal powers, and he was especially solicitous as to the civil allegiance of Catholics, profoundly affected, as he thought, by the decrees of the Vatican Council. His argument, as summarized by

Lord Acton, amounted to this: You Catholics got emancipation by declaring yourselves good subjects and decent people in 1829. But you also declared, for the same purpose, that you did not believe in Papal Infallibility. This declaration has now become false. What proof have the Government and people of England that the other is still true? The challenge was fairly and fully put. The result was to demand of Catholics security against political Ultramontanism under pain of a tremendous No Popery cry.[5]

Of the twenty Catholic replies which were published within three months (in striking contrast to Wiseman's sole reply to the Papal Aggression charge twenty years earlier) those of Manning and Newman were the most popular. As it was obvious that the doctrine of infallibility had not been defined by the Church in 1829, and hence at that time was not binding in conscience upon Catholics, the real point of controversy was whether the Vatican Council had brought about such a change in the relations of Catholics to the English government that it was no longer possible for them to render the same undivided civil allegiance as prior to the promulgation of the infallibility doctrine. Could an Englishman be, at the same time, a good Catholic and a good citizen? Manning published a tract of two hundred pages which stressed the fact that the Council had not changed in any way either the obligations or the conditions of the civil allegiance of Catholics. Newman's last

[5] Professor Herbert C. F. Bell will deal with the decline of No Popery in England in a subsequent volume in the Christendom Series.

great controversial effort against the last eminent assailant of Catholicism in the Victorian age, his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,* was received with great enthusiasm by the public, and was accepted as a valid vindication of Catholic loyalty to British institutions. The storm quickly subsided, and the national prejudice against Popery seemed to vanish into thin air. Manning received the red hat and Newman became an honorary fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Both events were received with general applause throughout England.

The Gladstone controversy marks the last great Catholic battle fought according to the best traditions of post-Reformation apologetical strategy. For one brief moment, still under the powerful spell of that siege mentality which dominated Catholic intellectual life and activity since Luther's day, English Catholics braced themselves to withstand another assault. The assault never came. The siege was over.

The Intellectual Revolution

The last seventeen years of Manning's rule, from 1875 to 1892, were essentially a transition period during which English Catholics struggled desperately to make the necessary adjustments to that stupendous fact. The siege was over. While they had been debating the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and later on defending it, a vast ideological revolution had taken place in England. Evolutionists, scientific philosophers, historical and literary critics, naturalist novelists and Socialist reformers had gravely unsettled the faith of millions. The Bible, which had held so pre-eminent a place in the

faith of Protestants, seemed torn to tatters by the scholars ostensibly expounding its religion. Among many intellectuals Christianity had come to be looked upon as an optional luxury unneeded either for the understanding of the world or for the conduct of life.

The sense of external security, the deadly preoccupation of men with their increasing mastery of things, and their rather pathetic absorption in material success, rendered the last third of the nineteenth century an unfavorable epoch for the advancement of the Catholic Revival. It was not to be expected that the declaration of the Church that no society could be established on a firm foundation apart from the principles of the Gospel would prove acceptable when nations were apparently prospering by imperialism and in the first flush of Socialist successes. "We want to clear out of the way everything that proclaims itself to be supernatural and superhuman," declared Karl Marx's friend and ally, Frederick Engels, "and thereby banish error; for the pretension of the human and natural to be superhuman, supernatural, is the root of all falseness and lies. We have therefore declared war once and for all upon religion and religious ideas, and it matters little to us whether people call us atheists or anything else." [6] Engels' proclamation of total war against religion in every form and aspect was only moderately successful. In the early years of Pope Leo XIII's pontificate (1878–1903), however, Socialism, in one form or another, gained converts among the work-

[6] Quoted by Rene Fulop-Muller in *Leo XIII and Our Times*, p. 126.

ing class in England and all over Europe. "Workmen of the world unite!"

Instantly the Christian counter-challenge was heard above the roar of the machines and the noisy exaltation of the money changers. A fragile little man on the Throne of the Fisherman, Joachim Pecci, warned rich and poor alike that it was necessary to return to what should never have been abandoned, "to Him Who is the way, the truth, and the life; not only individuals but human society as a whole must return to Him." [7] As Socialists sought to draw the world into a new form of unity, the Church attempted to show forth where the true commonwealth of man lies and how the unity of man can be achieved. But the plea and warning of Leo XIII passed for the most part unheeded.

Some Catholics in England were mistrustful of social unrest and repelled by the revolutionary and atheistic character of Socialism. They were therefore inclined to condemn every demand for reform of the social order, and thought only of waging a defensive war against the spirit and forces of anti-Christ. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed. The Christianity of England could not be saved by remaining in cloister and home, by staying within the self-imposed frontiers of a Catholic ghetto. The new war was being fought in the public press, on the public lecture platform, by books, magazines and pamphlets, in office and factory and market place. The issue was no longer whether there were seven, or only two, sacraments, but whether religion as such was simply a tool of plutocracy whose

[7] Encyclical, *Tametsi*, November 1, 1900.

function it was to mobilize all the forces of superstition for the suppression of every movement of proletarian class consciousness. New ideological weapons were needed, and a new social program. English Catholics looked to their leaders, Ward, Newman and Manning. From Lands End to Berwick the ancient battle-flags of Christendom were again unfurled.

In the year following the Vatican Council, W. G. Ward began a series of essays on Theism which must be accounted his most important contribution to the Catholic Revival. His work was a systematic defense of the existence of God and the ability of individuals to apprehend the Creator. Ward realized that the menace of scientific rationalism could not be successfully met over-night by any jerry-built system. He must have been fully aware of the low state of Catholic philosophy. He must have known that the golden age of the Catholic Revival, the full flowering of the Catholic intellect, would never come in his lifetime, and that the principal cause lay, not merely in England but everywhere, in the superficial character of philosophical and theological studies. The only practical solution to the problem, Ward contended, was a return to St. Thomas.

His judgment was handsomely vindicated in 1879 when Leo XIII, in his encyclical, *Aeterni Patris,* warmly recommended the study of the philosophy of St. Thomas to Catholic students. The Pope declared that he did not wish that Catholics should regard St. Thomas as an infallible guide, or that they should not be allowed to depart from his teaching on matters where it had been proved to have been incorrect, but

only that, taking the leading principles of the system laid down by St. Thomas, they should test, modify and develop these principles in the light of modern physical science. In 1880, two years before Ward's death, an academy of St. Thomas was inaugurated at Rome, and Leo advised the establishment of a chair of Thomistic philosophy in Louvain university. Louvain eventually became, under the brilliant leadership of Monsignor (later cardinal) Mercier, the leading center of the neo-scholastic movement.

Newman had frequently disagreed with Ward's views, but he fully shared his opinion on the gravity of the situation and the best method of dealing with it. He had consistently shown a certain reserve and a tenderness for uninformed Catholics in conducting theological discussions. Nevertheless he plainly indicated his own view that the danger of the times lay in carrying the principle too far. He well knew that in some states of society, such as his own, it was "the worst charity, and the most provoking, irritating rule of action, and the most unhappy policy, not to speak out, not to suffer to be spoken out, all that there is to say. Such speaking out is, under such circumstances, the triumph of religion, whereas concealment, accommodation, and evasion is to co-operate with the spirit of error." [8] But it so happened that those most competent to speak out had scarcely been permitted to speak at all.

Times had changed, however, and under changed circumstances Leo XIII made his own a policy which

[8] Wilfrid Ward, *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman,* vol. 2, p. 424.

Newman had championed for half a century. English Catholics cried out: "Let Newman speak!" But Newman was seventy-eight. His books must speak for him, multiplying the reasons for belief, opening up new ways of approach to the ancient truths. "Let Newman enter the College of Cardinals!" The request was granted, and so Father Newman went to Rome to receive the red hat.

For fifty years he had thought that a time of widespread infidelity was coming, and through all those years, despite the forward movement of the Catholic Revival, the waters had, in fact, been rising as a deluge. Newman looked for a coming time, after his life, when only the tops of the mountains would be seen like islands in the waste of waters. Yet he did not despair. His last testament was a testament of faith, hope, unwavering confidence. "Christianity," he said, on the eve of his investiture, "has been too often in what seemed deadly peril, that we should fear for it any new trial now. So far is certain; on the other hand, what is uncertain, and in these great contests commonly is uncertain, and what is commonly a great surprise, when it is witnessed, is the particular mode by which, in the event, Providence rescues and saves His elect inheritance. Sometimes our enemy is turned into a friend; sometimes he is despoiled of that special virulence of evil which was so threatening; sometimes he falls to pieces of himself; sometimes he does just so much as is beneficial, and then is removed. Commonly the Church has nothing more to do than to go on in her own proper duties, in confidence and peace; to stand still and see

the salvation of God. 'The meek spirited shall possess the earth, and shall be refreshed in the multitude of peace.' "

To peace at last had Newman come, to the tranquillity that comes of order, with all things in their due place, and he in his, the scarlet hat of the cardinal proclaiming Rome's witness to the valor and integrity of the most gifted of all her nineteenth-century champions.

The giants of the Catholic Revival in England were passing from life's battle-scarred stage. Ward was gone. Newman was gone. Manning alone remained.

The Social Question

In 1872 the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster attended for the first time a labor union meeting in which he moved a resolution of sympathy for agricultural workers. Soon after the close of his speech, a notorious enemy of Christianity appeared on the platform and began to take part in the proceedings. The committee in charge of the meeting had assured Manning that he would not be asked to co-operate with a Socialist. This promise was not kept and Manning left the hall in protest.

Manning would have agreed with the Socialist in his judgment of the social crisis; but he would, of course, have differed from him as to the best means of overcoming it. Both men were aware that the industrial revolution had brought about a new and profound cleavage in the structure of society. Both had seen that the same machinery to which modern society owed its

great wealth, and by the help of which a small minority of greedy men had piled up huge fortunes, had plunged millions of workers into misery. Despite the great production of wealth in the Victorian era, there were always one million people in receipt of parish relief. An additional million were on the verge of pauperism, and in times of depression were subject to the most desperate privations. Agricultural laborers never could do more than make ends meet, and looked forward to the workhouse as their only future. Tens of thousands of households did not know the luxury of milk, and their children were stunted for want of proper food. Owing to overcrowding, ordinary decency and morality were impossible.

Manning soon realized that mere denunciation of the Socialist doctrine of class hatred and class war would lead nowhere, and that if he wished to combat Socialism with any prospect of success, he would have to challenge the Socialist program with an equally complete, weighty and convincing conception of the social problem and its solution according to Catholic principles. This task he attempted to fulfill in an address delivered in 1874 before the Leeds Mechanics' Institute. Labor, he said, rather than capital, or even skill, was the cause of wealth and the origin of all England's greatness. He defended the dignity of labor and claimed for labor not only the rights of property but the right of unionization, the right to strike, and the right to have recourse to the civil authorities. He pleaded for a shorter work day, for the protection of women and children in industry, for a minimum wage, and for unemployment relief.

In competition with Socialism, he seemed at the outset doomed to failure, for Socialist propaganda was exerting a strong influence on the masses. Manning created a Christian program of social reconstruction. But so long as he preached in his own pulpit and wrote neat little essays in his own publications, his words would not touch even the fringe of the evil, would not reach the ears of those responsible for the well-being of the community, nor of those men of good will whose co-operation he stood most in need of and desired most. Socialists jeered as Manning set about investigating conditions in the slums of Westminster and knocking on the doors of tenements and hovels in the courts and alleys of the East End. Capitalists regarded him as a dangerous revolutionary. A few Catholics reported him to Rome, charging that he was consorting with subversive elements. The cry "This man goeth with swaddlers" followed Manning to the very end of his social action, followed him as he fought in the open for the poor of London, followed him as, by one last herculean effort, he turned the genius of Christendom into democratic channels.

When Manning became Archbishop of Westminster, his primary ambition was to save the poverty-stricken, ignorant and neglected children of the London streets. He gave his approval to a project to build a cathedral as a memorial to Cardinal Wiseman, and even purchased land for this purpose. He refused, however, to "drain my friends and my flock to pile up stones and brick," and established, instead, a diocesan education fund which increased the number of children who received

a Catholic education from 11,245 to 22,580. In later years approximately £350,000 was contributed to the Catholic Education Crisis Fund. For twenty years he sought to have the Foster Education Bill amended, since it separated secular training from religion, and finally succeeded in securing a public grant of ten shillings per child in average attendance in parochial schools. He also secured from the Government important concessions for the free practice of their religion by Catholics in workhouses and industrial schools, and in the military and naval forces. He gave public support to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and expressed the hope that the minimum age for child labor would be raised from ten to twelve years.

Believing that bad housing and intoxicating liquors were in large measure responsible for the destruction of domestic life, Manning was tireless in his efforts to bring about drastic reforms. In 1884 he was named a member of a Royal Commission to inquire into housing conditions. A two-volume report, issued the following year, emphasized the appalling overcrowding and unsanitary conditions of the slums of large towns and recommended the reduction of rents, the encouragement of building and loan societies, the erection of healthful homes and of houses for the very poor, and called for a check on pubs, taverns "and other dangerous establishments." The Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 fell far short of the ideal set up by the Commission, and it was not until the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, seventeen years after Manning's death, that fundamental reforms were introduced.

Manning repeatedly assailed the liquor trade which, he declared, was "devouring men, women, children and homes." He favored a local option which would enable localities or municipal bodies, by their own vote, to prevent the issuance of licenses to sell liquor. But his most successful effort against the vice of drunkenness was the organization and development of a total abstinence society, the League of the Cross. When the movement was launched in 1872, only a few priests helped him, but his perseverance was amply rewarded. In the course of a few years eighty priests joined in the work, and in London alone forty-two branches of the League were founded and 28,000 people took the pledge.

One of the indirect consequences of Manning's work in the cause of temperance was the gradual winning of the affections of Irish Catholics in London. The League took hold of the people, especially the workers, and this gave him a great advantage in bringing about a peaceful solution of the famous Dock Strike of 1889. The pay of the dockers had been five-pence an hour and they demanded an extra penny. The strikers appealed to Manning who, when the strike began, publicly defended the proposition that "every man has a right to work or to bread." For several weeks, from ten in the morning until eight at night, Manning granted interviews, discussed the matter thoroughly, negotiated with the dock owners and the workers. He succeeded in obtaining the extra penny and then persuaded the strikers to meet the directors of the company half way in fixing a date when the new conditions would take effect. Manning took no part in the celebrations which were held in his honor. But

the grateful strikers raised a subscription from the pennies which he had helped them to win and presented him with £160. Manning handed it over to the London Hospital to endow a bed.

Manning's social principles attracted the keenest interest both in the United States and in Rome. He was frequently consulted by Archbishop Corrigan of New York, and Cardinal Gibbons appealed to him to avert a condemnation which was being prepared in Rome against a secret organization of American workers known as the Knights of Labor. Manning reminded Propaganda that "in the Church of Santa Maria dell' Orto every chapel belongs to, and is maintained by, some college or *universitas* of various trades." The victory subsequently won was complete and Cardinal Gibbons expressed his profound gratitude by "joyfully adopting your Eminence into the ranks of our Knighthood." Pope Leo XIII loved him, leaned upon him, and received "wise and useful information" from the English cardinal. Of all the cardinals, Manning seems to have left the greatest impress on Leo and on his writings on social questions. The encyclical *Rerum Novarum,* which has since given its inspiration to the whole modern Catholic Revival, was perhaps prompted by direct action on Manning's part.

Toward the end of his amazingly active life, Manning kept open house for all the reformers, agitators, prophets and cranks who flocked to his great cold mansion, confident of a sympathetic audience with the aged prelate. He corresponded with Gladstone and Disraeli on social questions, opposed the African slave traffic,

encouraged the National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization, demanded justice for Ireland, joined the Social Purity Crusade in protest against the vicious conditions brought about by commercialized vice, and accepted high office in the League for Peace and in the International Society for the Total Suppression of Vivisection. He was kind to Henry George, praised the Salvation Army, and denounced anti-Semitism.

Manning's public action was a tremendous boon to the Catholic Revival. By his tact and earnestness of purpose he made it clear to all classes that English Catholics were not an exclusive set of men, self-centered, or intent only on their own religious interests or out of touch with popular wants and feelings, or with the intellectual movements of the day—alien, in a word, to the public life of England. He confounded the Socialists and demonstrated that, apart from religious faith, in all matters of public concern, or in every movement to promote the well-being of their country, English Catholics were of one mind and one heart with the rest of their fellow-countrymen.

A few years before his death on January 14, 1892, he who was called the Primate of the Poor wrote in his journal: "The liberty of Truth and of the Church has lifted me above all dependence or limitations. This seems like the latter end of Job, greater than the beginning. I hope it is not the condemnation when all men speak well of me."

CONCLUSION

When Cardinal Manning died in 1892, Christopher Dawson, present editor of the *Dublin Review* and one of the prominent lay leaders of the *Sword of the Spirit* movement to-day in England, was only three. Monsignor Ronald Knox and Arnold Lunn had just turned four. Alfred Noyes was twelve, and Father C. C. Martindale thirteen. Chesterton was eighteen, and would not enter the Catholic Church for another thirty years. The irrepressible and indefatigable Belloc, every inch a fighting man, was twenty-two.

The Catholic Revival in England did not end with Manning. In a true sense it was only just beginning; but the heroic age of the Revival, the age of the giants, had been concluded.

Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, Manning's successor, was the son of Colonel John Vaughan, an Old Catholic, and Eliza Rolls, a pre-Oxford Movement convert. He seemed to sum up in himself the strength of the centuries of persecution. He had a deep devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, an outlook wholly spiritual, the strong fidelity of the old squirearchy; but he had little interest in anything concerned with literature and the arts, and remained essentially remote from the unreligious sides of English life. The rate of conversion

slowed down, but the antagonisms within Catholic ranks yielded place to a new and stronger unity. By reversing Manning's policy, Cardinal Vaughan made it possible for Catholic parents to send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge. On the site which Manning had purchased, he built a great cathedral.

Queen Victoria's dislike of Catholicism softened a little in her last years. Edward VII was the first English sovereign since the Stuarts who was not in some measure anti-Catholic. In the general atmosphere of calm that preceded the first World War, English Catholics entered into the inheritance of the churches and schools built by their parents and grandparents, and embarked upon fresh plans for extension and reconstruction.

And to-day?

St. George's Cathedral, one of the most historic of London's Catholic buildings, has been destroyed by incendiary bombs. Little more than the four walls are left.

But neither incendiary nor demolition bombs will ever destroy the spirit of the Catholic Revival in England—the unconquerable Christian spirit which shines through every word of a recent statement by Christopher Dawson:

"We are passing through one of the great turning points of history—a judgment of the nations as terrible as any of those which the prophets described. We see all the resources of science and technology of which we were so proud being devoted methodically to the destruction of our world. And behind this material

destruction there are even greater evils, the loss of freedom and the loss of hope, the enslavement of whole peoples to an inhuman order of violence and oppression. Yet however dark the prospect appears we know that the ultimate decision does not rest with man but with God and that it is not His will to leave humanity to its own destructive impulses or to the slavery of the powers of evil. God not only rules history, He intervenes as an actor in history and the mystery of the Divine Reunion that we celebrate at Easter is the key to His creative action. For the Kingship of Christ and His authority over the nations are not pious phrases: they are principles of revolutionary importance for the political as well as the moral order."

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